

**A DIACHRONIC STUDY OF RUSSIAN AND
CZECH HEADLINES:
SOCIOLINGUISTIC SHIFTS IN MEDIA
DISCOURSE**

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Abstract

This study analyses Russian and Czech front page headlines language over the period of twenty years (1979-1999). The investigation focuses mainly on textual and cognitive functions of headlines and on the linguistic means through which these functions are realised. Different language and content strategies used by headline writers are identified and evaluated and considerable changes have been found. The headline infrastructure has shifted from topic-naming to summarising headlines and this is accompanied by the grammatical structure of the headlines as well as the word count. There is an increase in erotetic headlines which peaked in 1989.

The investigation shows that different stylistic strategies are used, their variety and number increasing in the 1999 corpus. The formality of the headline language has changed, too. Bookish and very formal lexis was replaced by neutral language, and a small number of headlines with informal and colloquial lexis also appeared. Popular culture emerged as a source for intertextual headlines in 1999. This indicates that a greater effort was made to identify with the readers, to reach them through their language and experience and so to broaden the readership base.

Changes have also occurred in content strategies. Personalisation of headlines became popular, news actors are more frequent and they are evaluated more. The evaluation trend has changed from broadly positive to broadly negative. There is an almost total absence of women in the headlines in 1979 and this situation has changed somewhat during the later period. The news concerning them, however, tends to be human interest stories rather than hard news.

The findings have shown that the language and content changes are comparatively small between 1979 and 1989 but rather extensive between 1989 and 1999. It would seem that they are the result of the transformation of the social system which had a major impact on several fronts. It is therefore feasible to speculate that at a time of major political upheavals language change occurs more swiftly than at times of political calm.

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Declaration

I, Jarmila Hickman, hereby declare that the work presented herein is an original contribution to the field of study and has not been submitted for the award of a degree to any university heretofore.

Signed: *Jarmila Hickman*

Date: 3rd June 2008

Dedication

To my parents Miroslava and Eduard Brož

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Transcription of Russian words:

Words that have an established transliteration have been used in that form, e.g. *Ogonek, Yeltsin*.

Since there does not appear to be a unified transliteration of Известия it has been transliterated thus: *Izvestiia*

Soft /palatalising vowels я ё ю are transcribed *ia io iu* e.g. боятся - *boiatsia*

E is transliterated as *ie* at the beginnings of words and after a vowel, but as *e* elsewhere e.g. есть – *iest'*, приветствие – *privetstviie*

И is transliterated as *i* e.g. Родине - *Rodine*

Soft sign is marked by an apostrophe e.g. печать *pechat'*

Hard sign is marked by double inverted commas, e.g. Азъ *Az''*

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This chapter offers a review of the nature of the relationship between language and society. It then focuses on the reasons for the choice of the research topic, the language of headlines. The aims of the study are described next, followed by an outline of the research methods, including the grounds for the choice of newspapers. Finally, the structure of the thesis is summarised.

1.2 Language and society

Language provides a fascinating field for study because it plays a unique role in the life of the human race, offering a versatile instrument for expressing people's thoughts, recording their endeavours, communicating their beliefs and attitudes. It can serve commercial and artistic purposes.

Language can reveal class, gender and age, tell whether people are in a working or a relaxing mode. With a wide arsenal of weapons it is able to exert pressure, overtly or covertly; show where on the hierarchical ladder we stand, engage us in play for power, persuade us to take up activities not contemplated earlier, and entice us to purchase items we did not even dream existed. It can be frivolous or deadly serious, ranging from flirting to matters of life and death.

It is of interest for less contentious reasons, too. We want to chart how language develops in all its aspects, note the changes in the sounds, grammar and lexis, trace its past evolution and wonder at its direction at the moment.

A great deal of research has been carried out and continues to be undertaken into the different aspects of language and its use. There are dozens of books on gender studies, politeness and pragmatics, many sociolinguistic texts deal with the problems of social class or the questions of hierarchical order in the workplace as seen through language use, and others deal with the power of advertisements.¹

¹ As an example see the list of references in Crawford, M. (1995) *Talking difference*, Sage; Romaine, S. (2000) *Language in Society*, OUP; Scollon and Scollon, (1995) *Intercultural Communication*, Blackwell; Myers, G. (1994) *Words in Ads*, Edward Arnold;

Power and ideology have also been of great interest to a wide spectrum of researchers, from philosophers, through political and social analysts to minority leaders, translators and language teachers².

The media, printed, aural or visual, are important social institutions. They do not only reflect but also shape our language, culture, views, politics and social life (Chloupek, 1993; Valdrová, 1997). They contribute to the formation of the character of society (Bell, 1998). For many people television, radio or the Internet have become the prime providers of information. Still the press continues to exert influence over us. Even as the number of regular newspaper readers is steadily declining (Mills, 1999), there are millions of individuals who will get a paper on a regular basis and who will be influenced by what they read.

As the idiom of the news is a major register of language, appreciating how it works is important to the understanding of the functions of language in society (Bell, 1998:65). The language of the media also acts as a mirror that reflects back to us the language we use.

Catch phrases, freshly coined expressions, words used by the rich and famous are seized upon and reused by journalists in their articles, sometimes intentionally, sometimes not, and are picked up by the readers, to be passed on. Such words or phrases can enter the lexicon as a permanent addition to it or live an ephemeral life and fade away with the latest fad. Every language goes through changes, what could be called linguistic evolution, but in times of major social upheavals the evolution can turn into a revolution. As James (1998:57) states language change is a socially driven phenomenon. The far-reaching social and political changes in Czechoslovakia and in the Soviet Union in the last quarter of the 20th century are just such times (Danchenko, 1995:123).

1.3 The power of headlines (rationale)

For over seventy years headlines have been attracting the attention of researchers but they have drawn readers for much longer, (Straumann, 1935:87). Because they can attract a potentially huge audience, they can be very influential: they have

² Wittgenstein, Chomsky, Van Dijk, Bassnett to name but a few.

been known to have changed geographical names, and they can influence the way people speak (Conniff 1982:140). They have been praised, rebuked and ignored. As one American commented on the newspaper headline:

"Only an exuberant people ...could invent a thing at once generally so hideous and occasionally so intensely dramatic as almost to achieve the dignity of art". (Conniff 1982:140)

They are a unique type of text, distinctive and telegraphic, prominent and catchy, attracting attention by their appearance, which separates them from the rest of the text on the page, as well as by their syntax and lexis (Laine, 1982:9; Alexander 1986:162; Bell, 1991:185; van Dijk, 1991:50) yet an important part of the text. With the tendency to shorten the length of newspaper articles the importance of headlines has increased (Bartošek, 1997:62).

Researchers have found that headlines are read first and that many readers often do not read the main body of the text, but only look at the headlines. Apart from their uniqueness as a 'minute' text or as a visual entity helping readers to navigate the newspaper page, the headlines therefore also matter because of the potentially huge audience they can command and influence. This is true both in the West and in Russia and the Czech Republic (e.g. Mardh, 1980:11; Lazareva, 1989:3; Bartošek, *ibid.*).

1.4 Choice of publications

In order to be able to look at Russian and Czech headlines diachronically, it was necessary to find publications that existed both before and after 1991. The year 1991 is significant because that is the year when the Soviet Union ceased to exist. Although Czechoslovakia went through its Velvet revolution in the late 1989, the situation of the printed media remained fairly stable for another year or so. It was only after the collapse of the USSR and the split of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia that changes began to affect the newspapers in earnest. Therefore the selection of publications had to take into account the fact that many pre-1991 newspapers no longer existed and others only came into being after 1991. The years preceding and following that date saw a major upheaval in that society, with re-evaluation of institutions, ideologies and ideas.

Another consideration was the use of language. Eventually one Czech and three Russian publications were selected, two weekly ones, *Ogonek* and *Argumenty i fakty*, and two dailies, Russian *Izvestiia*. and Czech *Rudé právo* which changed its name to *Právo* in the early 1990s. They have been aimed at general readership and have therefore reflected the contemporary language use without specific age or interest groups bias.

1.5 Aims and objectives of the investigation

The overall aim of this study is to analyse the language (and in a small way the typology) of Russian and Czech headlines over a period of time in order to evaluate any changes that may have occurred, and to speculate on their possible causes. This will contribute to the knowledge of language change in the media (e.g. in respect of formality/informality) over time .It will also provide an insight into the function that headlines have played in Czechoslovak/Czech and Soviet/Russian printed media.

The study will examine the language of headlines in the selected newspapers and journals between 1979-1999 by analysing the structure and lexis in ten year intervals. The time was selected because the Russian (Soviet and post-Soviet) and Czech societies have gone through a major upheaval and change during that time and it is expected that the language of headlines will reflect this. Evaluation of the changes will be undertaken. The printed media are important social institutions that not only mirror but also shape people's culture, views, politics, social life and language. The language of newspapers is a major register; therefore it is a valid and important field of study.

Headlines play an important role in attracting the attention of potential readers; they provide information, entertain, and, importantly, offer readers cognitive models or schemata for any unfamiliar reality. They can exert power and reinforce or weaken the status quo. The investigation will therefore focus on their textual and cognitive functions and the linguistic means through which these functions are realised.

The objectives therefore will be to study what strategies the various publications used in order to attract and to convey information to the reader. The different means have been gathered under the following headings: Mutually exclusive strategies (headline infrastructure), selected syntactic strategies, stylistic strategies, content strategies, (labelling of news/social actors and topics in the headlines) and typological strategies.

There is, to my knowledge, no systematic work in English on Russian and Czech headlines, either synchronic or diachronic, nor are there diachronic studies of headlines in Russian or Czech. The distinctiveness of the study is therefore several-fold: the diachronic study across two languages (Russian and Czech) will provide an insight into changes in the language of the media both over time and in two societies and it is hoped will increase our understanding of contemporary language. It will also provide English readers with information on Russian and Czech headlines.

The findings will be of interest to varied audience, from comparative linguists to language teachers to researcher into gender matters as well as people with interest in media studies.

1.6 Methods of investigation

Using a socio-linguistic approach, the enquiry will concentrate on the language of front-page headlines. Front-page headlines have been chosen because they are the first ones to be seen by potential readers and therefore need to attract attention. They should display, it is hypothesised, all and any features that would catch readers' interest.

Headlines were selected from four different publications, three Russian ones, and a Czech one to provide a contrast. The main reason for the choices made was the language that was used in them, not specialist or group-specific but comprehensible to the general public and reflecting the language of the time. There was a secondary reason for the choice made – the continued existence of the publication throughout the period.

Different approaches were considered when deciding how to select the front pages. Since two publications were weeklies, it was not possible to use the idea of the constructed week for them. This was considered for the two dailies but was discarded because it did not provide any sort of parity with the weeklies. Eventually a frequency was arrived at for *Izvestiia* of every fifth (1979 and 1989) and every fourth issue (1999) that offered headlines from every weekday, rather than one particular day and in the case of *Rudé právo/Právo* which was intended as a contrast, every seventh issue was chosen.

The numbering of headlines was made page specific, and the scale adopted was 1 to 4 relative to one another on the page according to their size, placement and boldness. Paragraph headings and captions were ignored, as were trailers referring to articles to be published on other days. However, trailers referring to other pages in the day's publication were included.

A Statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) was used for the quantitative analysis.

1.7 Structure of the study

The study consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 offers a brief introduction to the topic of study. Chapters 2 and 3 review a wide range of literature dealing with many factors - chapter 2 offers the western appraisal of the printed media overall and some of the main topics frequently discussed, such as the question of objectivity, bias, censorship, ownership etc. as well as Soviet, post-Soviet and Czechoslovak/Czech views on these matters. Although not directly a part of the research this background is important for the understanding of the approach to language use at different times (socialist and post-socialist period). Chapter 3 provides a broad insight into the research field dealing more specifically with the language of the printed media. It was felt to be important to offer a comparison of research literature published in the West as well as in the USSR/ RF and Czechoslovakia/CR in Russian, Czech and in English in order to make a meaningful assessment of the field. Chapter 4 describes the methodology and classification employed. The selected categories are applied across Russian and

Czech headlines in order to illustrate whether they were used in both media and whether there have been any changes over a period of years, and if so, of what kind. The chapter also offers a detailed description of the different publications together with explication and illustrations of the classification used in the study. In order to avoid repetition, the classification deals with the two languages together. Chapter 5 is concerned with the analysis of the Russian corpus and Chapter 6 provides the analysis of the Czech corpus. Discussion of the findings and comparisons and contrasts where relevant between the two languages is provided in chapter 7 where all the different strands are brought together. The final chapter offers evaluation of the investigatory methods, recommendation for further research and concluding remarks.

1.8 Summary

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and a brief background to the subject of research in sections 1.1 and 1.2. The rationale of the study of headlines and the choice of publications are offered next, in sections 1.3 and 1.4. This is followed by the introduction of aims and objectives of the investigation and a summary of methodology used in section 1.5. Section 1.6 offers the layout of the study.

The following two chapters provide a literature review. Chapter 2 offers an assessment of the role of newspapers in western³, Russian (Soviet and post-Soviet) and Czechoslovak/Czech societies, examines key concepts used in the analysis of the press in these societies and looks at their press systems. It was felt necessary to make a comparison with media research carried out in English speaking countries especially regarding attitudes to press roles, content and possible criteria used in headline studies because of any potential impact on language use. In Chapter 3 attention is focused on the language of newspapers generally and the language of headlines specifically.

³ 'Western' broadly covers the Anglophone world (mostly UK, USA, New Zealand and Australia) and Western Europe.

2.0 Press and society

2.1 Overview

In this chapter we shall assess the role of newspapers in western, Russian and Czech/slovak societies, examine key concepts (objectivity, bias, censorship, propaganda etc.) used in the analysis of the press and look at the press systems. This chapter aims to show the differences as they influence the way the press uses language.

The inclusion of western literature is intentional: it provides a contrast to the socialist way of viewing the printed media and it allows comparisons with post-socialist developments. Thus section 2.2 reviews the role of the press and the key concepts while section 2.3 compares and contrasts the different press systems.

2.2 The role of the press

The role of the press is firmly rooted in the ideology of the country in which it is used. In the sections below the role of the press and relevant key concepts are examined, first looking at the western (predominantly British) press, then at the socialist press in the USSR and the CSSR and finally in the post-socialist societies of the 1990s.

2.2.1 The role of the press in the West and key concepts

In an idealised but widely accepted view, the role of the mass media is to report events in society objectively, freely and independently, and to serve as a check on the government. This watchdog function is seen both as a right and as a duty (e.g. de Smaele, 1999:175). To this end the printed media are expected to use language that is acceptable and comprehensible to their readers in order to capture and hold their attention (Hodgson, 1993:137; Bell, 1991:30, 82).

Contrasting sets of notions keep recurring in the literature on the media⁴ (Dennis and Merrill, 1996). These notions have a bearing on the language used in creating

⁴ Objectivity, freedom, independence, bias, prejudice, propaganda, value-laden point of view etc.

headlines and newspaper texts, and it is therefore important to look, albeit briefly, at the different interpretations and usages of these terms.

One of the key concepts is *objectivity*. The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as 'dealing with outward things or exhibiting facts uncoloured by opinions or feelings' (1996, s.v.:1002). Two opposing views exist. The first claims that in absolute terms to be objective would mean to be omniscient and infallible, detached and un-opinionated. In practice this is impossible to achieve as reporters and editors are conditioned by their experience, physical state, education and a myriad of other factors, which influence their performance (van Dijk, 1991:210). The very fact of selecting material is subjective.

The second view perceives objectivity as a method of presenting information. This entails thorough investigation and accurate reporting, and keeping one's own overt views out of the story. Great importance is attached to verification and attribution, and, as far as language is concerned, the writer's impressions should be clearly distinguished from purely factual information by using words and images that are generally understood (Dennis and Merrill, *ibid.*:118)⁵.

The idea of elevating fact over opinion became dominant in the 19th century. First developed⁶ in the sciences it was soon transferred to other spheres, including newspapers (McNair, 1994:27). From this a new theory developed which became known as analytical reporting (Dennis and Merrill, 1996:106): facts were replaced by individually constructed interpretations in a methodologically objective manner (McNair, 1994:27).

Other divisions exist (*ibid.*:29-30). Some scholars see the absence of absolute objectivity as unintentional but unavoidable due to upbringing, education and employment. Others argue that the absence of absolute objectivity is intentional and deliberate. In their view reporting is biased because of the ideological role of journalism. They base their assertions on content analysis. Broadly speaking they see journalists intentionally selecting and reporting the news with a certain bias⁷.

⁵ A list of authors defending the two views can be found in Dennis and Merrill 1996 :119

⁶ Empiricism <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empiricism> [Accessed 2nd May 2007]

⁷ Bias is defined as "a predisposition or prejudice, or a systematic distortion" (OED, s.v.).

Both groups accept that news is a social product. There is a selection process and interpretation which depends on the economic, political and social framework in which the processes are carried out (Fowler, 1991:222). For example, Western media emphasise *negativity* and *conflict* (Bell, 1991:156) which is seen as part of the drama of life and overlaps with the idea of entertainment. In contrast, the media in eastern Europe during the socialist period concentrated on positive values in home news⁸ because it was imbued with the notion of education, instruction and promotion of Party views (McNair op.cit.:30-31). Negativity and conflict were usually reported when covering western news stories (Becker, 1999, passim).

A distinction is also made between editorials or commentaries and hard news (Dennis and Merrill, *ibid.*). Editorials or commentaries offer a point of view, an interpretation, because their purpose is to examine the evidence and offer conclusions. The hard news tends to be more factual, providing answers to the questions: *what? who? when?* and *did it make any difference?*

Furthermore, every researcher or critic applies their own perception to any information under scrutiny and who is in the position to say that they are absolutely objective? They (e.g. Fowler 1991; Hartley, 1982⁹), too, have their own value systems, culture, religion, social class, gender, party affiliation and political ideology. The "leftward" or "rightward" leaning of the media often seems to depend on the position of the critic (Dennis and Merrill, op.cit.:69). A group of researchers led by David Domke has found that criticisms of news media for being biased are often strategic (Domke, 1999:35).

Freedom and liberty are concepts written about by many influential philosophers¹⁰. The OED (s.v.:551.) defines *freedom* as "the condition of being free and unrestricted". In studies on journalism the usual definition of *freedom* is "the right to communicate ideas, opinions and information through the printed word without government restraint" (Dennis and Merrill, op.cit.:5). *Independence*

⁸ The socialist press criticised shortcomings in individuals, see discussion of Fidelius (1983) below

⁹ Researchers such as these view news as constructs that offer 'preferred reading' of events, thus supporting the status quo.

¹⁰ J.S.Mill, F.A. Hayek, and I.Berlin to name but a few

is described in the dictionary as "not depending on authority or control" (OED, s.v.:716).

The notions of economic, political and intellectual freedom and independence are essential to the western understanding of society. In Britain there is a long-standing tradition of free and independent press, which can be traced to the Licensing Act of 1695 (Morley 1998:6)¹¹. That does not mean that the press has a free hand. Its freedom is a conditional freedom. It has to coexist with other rights of individuals. The various restraining laws (e.g. libel, privacy, copyright, state secrets etc.) impose limitations on press freedom, and many discussions are generated about what ought to be published in the public interest. Although in theory there is no prior restraint of publication (i.e. pre-publication censorship), governments in western societies can block publication of sensitive material and courts can issue restraining orders (Grant, n.d.:1-2; Dennis and Merril, op.cit.:9).

Peter Humphreys (1996:44-45) notes several types of political censorship: sensitive information may not be published at times of national crisis (e.g. in war time) or if it could compromise national security (e.g. D-notices in the UK¹²). He includes political 'lying', self-promotion through state advertising, and corporatism – blurring of the boundaries between the state and civil society. In his study of several European states he concludes that Britain appears to have the worst censorship record¹³ (Humphreys, ibid.:46).

Direct state interference is infrequent, as the press exercises self-regulation, and various bodies are charged with watching over the media such as the Press Complaint Commission in Britain¹⁴. There is also the option of taking the offending publication's editorial staff to court¹⁵.

¹¹ The Constitution of the United States also upholds the right to free speech (1st Amendment, 1791) as does Article 11 of the Declaration of the rights of man and the citizen of 1789 in France (Texier, 1998:50)

¹² Official secrecy restraints in the UK are called D-notices.

¹³ He blames it on the absence of a written constitution, the presence of a majoritarian political system, severe official secrets legislation and weak legislation on freedom of information. However, the situation has been remedied by the Freedom of Information Act 2000 which provides a general right of access to information held by publicly funded bodies.

¹⁴ The equivalent body in the USA is called the Press Council.

¹⁵ As portrayed in Milos Forman's film *The People vs. Larry Flint* (1997)

In pragmatic terms, however, the western press can be described as fairly free:

"In pluralistic, competitive regimes, the press can serve as an active force... which is accessible to the public, provides a wide array of information, and enjoys relative autonomy from the government". (Becker, 1999:11)

Another controversial term is *ideology*. Invented in 1797 by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy it was taken up by Marx and Engels in the 19th century to describe beliefs and convictions of people who contradicted their views. It underwent a further change later in the century: in Europe it was used to describe a system of socially determined ideas (e.g. Marxist ideology), whereas in America it was chosen by students of political theory as a useful and 'impressive-sounding' term¹⁶ to describe the many 'isms' that were appearing. A point to remember is that ideologies claim exclusive truth (Minogue, 1995:104 ff).

Closely linked with the notion of ideology is that of propaganda¹⁷. It has acquired a derogatory tone implying that the publicity or information is "misleading or dishonest" (The OED, op.cit. s.v.). Usually propaganda involves the state promoting a point of view to gain influence or control over the population (Dennis and Merrill, op. cit.:166-7; Fidelius, 1983, passim).

In a broad sense propaganda has much in common with public relations and advertising/marketing because it aims to promote certain ideas or goods. John Paluszek (2002 :442) has a benign view of propaganda:

"Propaganda may be simply viewed as another term for communication. When the communication is being executed by communicators who do not share our views about government, the nature of humankind, or the world in general, we call their efforts 'propaganda'. However, when we try to share our own views, we are 'communicating' or 'informing' or 'educating' our audiences".

Some people might agree with this view. There is, however, a difference between 'communication' and 'propaganda'. Propaganda is generally carried out by a

¹⁶ "Foreign and impressive-sounding" is the light-hearted way in which Minogue (1995 :106) put it

¹⁷ Originally a term used in the Roman Catholic Church (congregatio de propaganda fide, translated as congregation for propagation of the faith) it has been taken over by the secular world and applied to "an organised programme of publicity, selected information etc. used to disseminate a doctrine or practice" (Oxford English Reference Dictionary 1996 s.v.)

specific interest group and importantly, people who are subjected to it do not have any opportunities to check the quality of the information, because it is not available to them.

'The propagandist seeks to change the way people understand an issue or situation, for the purpose of changing their actions and expectations in ways that are desirable to the interest group' (Sourcewatch, n.d., s.v.).¹⁸

Thus the western press can be seen as a tool of propaganda¹⁹. There is, however, not just one ideology that is being disseminated, but a whole host of them, government, political parties, business, religion:

"Fortunately, a pluralism of propagandas keeps the activity from doing great social damage. The people can select their favourite propaganda from the variety furnished by the media" (Morley, *ibid.*:174).

There is another division: the press can be seen as falling into two dichotomous camps - a benevolent press that fulfils a social role (community-centred, for example) and a harmful press, that is perceived as supporting the interests of and ideas benefiting various elites. In this case it is said to be performing an ideological role (Mc Nair, *op.cit.*:17).

The benevolent press provides factual information about the world. It can keep an eye on issues that merit readers' interest or concern and explain them (agenda-setting). This is seen as being of particular value in sustaining the democratic process, because it alerts readers and supplies them with information so that they can make rational electoral and economic choices (McNair, 1994:16). Some researchers think that popular journalism may facilitate resistance to political, economic and social subordination by empowering its audiences, not as actors in the public sphere but as consumers (Bromley, 1998:27).

The ideological role of the press is also referred to as social reproduction where the press is seen as serving political and economic elites, sometimes unconsciously but mostly intentionally. One of its permutations looks at

¹⁸ For further discussion concerning different features of propaganda, including the use of language see Fidelius, (*op.cit.*) below.

¹⁹ A vigorous debate has been going on for several decades in which academics and practitioners have argued about this thorny issue. For a more detailed review of the discussants and the arguments see Dennis and Merrill (*op.cit.*:166 ff.).

journalistic text as a selected aspect of the real world, presented in a way that would make sense to the reader but also limit or eliminate any potentially disruptive meanings (ibid.:18).

It is closely related to that of the social construction of reality. In this version the world is constructed for the reader in terms of categories such as normal or deviant, militant or moderate. The journalists do not just report that which already exists but create it and create it quickly and dramatically²⁰. In this model journalism is viewed as an active social institution that together with other institutions regulates and negotiates morality (ibid.:20).

Some researchers have been very critical of the media. For example, Bourdieu (1998:21, 56) suggests that the media constitute a threat to democracy because they tend to concentrate on the personal and emotional side rather than on issues in a rational way, thus bypassing state institutions.

Many British specialists turned their attention to the role of language. Hartley (1982) maintains that the establishment in the West has developed a variety of strategies, including language-based strategies, by which it can manipulate public opinion. The media are a tool in the ideological apparatus of the state, a producer of opinions, (ibid.:57) and reproducer of a dominant ideology, (ibid.:62). Additionally, the dominant class can make it very difficult for alternative media to survive (ibid.:136).

One such scholar, interested in the way information is manipulated, is Chomsky. He sees media as serving the interests of the state and corporate power (1989:21). The US government, he says, manipulates and misinforms its own people and applies similar pressures abroad (ibid.:30-31), it also applies double standards²¹. Chomsky sees a similarity in the two social systems (capitalist and socialist) - the difference is in the way consent is manufactured (ibid.:48).

²⁰ The hysteria encouraged at the time of the death of the Princess of Wales, the panic generated over the public naming of paedophiles or the private actions of politicians spread out in the public arena, as was for instance the case of Monica Lewinsky can serve as vivid illustrations of the power wielded by the media.

²¹ A particular action, e.g. the releasing of mine maps in Vietnam by the USA, was ignored by the US government. Yet the USA severely criticised the USSR for not releasing its mine maps in Afghanistan (Chomsky, op.cit.:35).

The educated elites are the main target of the propaganda (ibid.:47). Debates are encouraged, because they reinforce the system: they help to "establish [what is] thinkable thought while reinforcing the belief that freedom reigns" (ibid.:48; cp Fidelius, 1983, below). The most important thing for the elites is the power to set the agenda²². Through many examples Chomsky illustrates the duplicity of most of the Western and especially American media, particularly the 'quality press'²³, and shows them to be subservient to the government and the economic elites.

Van Dijk has developed his approach to discourse analysis and applied it to the language of the media. Both the journalists and their audience use established frames or schemata for interpreting information and events. These frames are based on ideological beliefs, ideology here being interpreted as the shared socio-cognitive system of a group, culture, or society (1991:36).

In van Dijk's view, media provide a fundamental interpretational framework for the understanding of events, which may also act as a legitimation for prejudices and discrimination, for example against minority groups (ibid.:7). He says that both the headlines and the topics of a news story reflect many dimensions of the psychology and sociology of news and embody criteria of journalistic decisions about the newsworthiness of events (ibid.:71). What we have therefore is both a subjective and a general approach to news stories, and their different elements can be upgraded or downgraded to further the desired effect on the reader.

Similar conclusions are found in Fowler's study on the language of the news. He views news as a representation of reality which reflects, but also shapes people's view of the world (1991:222). Many varied events can be seen stereotypically by employing the same frames of reference (e.g. industrial pickets and football hooliganism) and in this way language can lead to levelling out through formulaic phrases. "The selection and transformation of an item of news is an ideological act of interpretation," he maintains (ibid.:19).

²² That is to establish the basic assumptions such as: the USA defends itself or its allies from an internal or external aggression, or that it is focused on containment of some hostile and dangerous power (ibid.:48-9). In this way the assumptions that the USA might be the aggressor or should be contained are not made and the elites are safe.

²³ A decade later Tulloch (1998:65-66) asserts that serious newspapers collaborate with the State at an alarming level.

The attitude of Russian scholars to the western press was also²⁴ very critical. One study condemned the capitalist press for arousing hatred of the Soviet Union (Kulakov, 1982:19). He rebuked the western press for its search for sensationalism, murder, rape etc. and attributed it to a desire to distract readers from societal problems and their underlying causes (ibid.:20). Another researcher noted that social and political myths were widely used both in the Soviet and western media to paint a picture of the enemy (Klushina, 1996:37). Soviet scholars and journalists also criticized the Western media for making profit their principal goal (Androunas 1993:110).

To summarise, the role of the western press is seen either as a watch dog, a setter of agendas and overall a positive phenomenon, or as supporting economic and political elites and their ideologies, upholding the status quo by perpetuating stereotypes and concentrating on the personal and emotional rather than dealing with societal problems.

2.2.2 The role of the press in Soviet and Czechoslovak societies and key concepts

There are two main, polarised views of the Soviet press, the western view and the Soviet view. Each one is based on the dominant ideology in the relevant society. Both western and Soviet researchers, however, start with the premise that the Soviet media were shaped by the theories of Marx and Lenin. It is the interpretation of the value of this premise in which they differ. We shall look at them in turn.

For Marx, the proletariat could acquire and retain revolutionary consciousness only if it controlled the media. No doubt that sprang from his belief in the importance of language: "language, like consciousness, only arises from the need, the necessity, of intercourse with other men" (Eagleton, 1997:7)²⁵. After Marx, Lenin believed in the importance of a strong relationship between the press and class power and insisted that the Russian social democratic labour party

²⁴ There is much similarity with the views of Chomsky and other western researchers.

²⁵ Eagleton was quoting from *The German Ideology* by Marx (edition and page not given).

(precursor of the communist party) should have a strong centralized media committed to the proletariat.

He believed that the Party, as the vanguard of the proletariat, should supervise and control the media whose task was to be the propagandist, agitator and collective organizer (McNair, 1994:54-5). The journalists were seen as revolutionaries, who inculcated the masses by mixing opinions and facts. "Objectivity in the sense of being non-partisan was an enemy of " 'truth' as the Communists perceived it" (Aumente, 1999:50-1). Johnson (1999:22) described the roles that the Soviet journalists were required to fulfil in the 1960s and 1970s as "ideological warrior, literary craftsman, publicist, investigative reporter, citizen's friend and member of the collective".

During the turmoil of the post-revolutionary years (Hosking, 1985) the Bolsheviks began to build an authoritarian state and media monopoly (McNair, *ibid.*:56). Although propaganda was its main role, Soviet media established other roles for themselves:

"They provided a basic summary of the most important national and international news; their solicitation of reader and correspondent letters was designed to correct societal wrongs; and they helped to generate and popularise the 'new Soviet public culture.'" (Johnson, 1999:20).

It is true that they all published official statements or slanted information according to instructions from above. However, they had their own profiles²⁶.

The role of the press was instrumental and supplementary to the Party's ideological and political activities. The Party had one goal – to keep the entire media structure uniform, manageable and obedient (Androunas, 1993:40). Information was interpreted to fit into the ideological scheme of the period (*ibid.*:133; also Murray, 1994:16) and so of itself it was not the first priority (Androunas, 1993:72).

Lenin's article '*Party organisation and party literature*' determined the future of the Soviet media for 70 years:

²⁶ This was determined by their readership so that issues discussed, for example, in *Krestianka*, and aimed at peasant women, were very different from those in *Trud* aimed at trade unionists.

“In contradistinction ... to the profit-making, commercialised bourgeois press, to bourgeois literary careerism and individualism, ‘aristocratic anarchism’ and drive for profit, the socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of Party literature... What is this principle of Party literature? ... Literature cannot be a means of enriching individuals or groups: it cannot, in fact, be an individual undertaking, independent of the common cause of the proletariat. Down with non-partisan writers! ... Literature must become part of the common cause of the proletariat ... Literature must become a component of organised, planned and integrated Social-Democratic Party work” (Tucker, 1975:149).

These principles were subsequently applied to the entire press since no-one was told that the quotation applied to Party literature only (Androunas, op.cit.:41). Although 7,985 newspapers in 56 different languages were published in the 1980s throughout the Soviet Union (Johnson,1999:1), all offered one opinion – that of the Party (Androunas o:cit.:13,37).

*Glavlit*²⁷ censored everything. There were censors in each printing plant and members of the KGB infiltrated the media both in the editorial offices and in the press agency offices abroad (Androunas, ibid.:33). The Party also controlled the media through the personnel policy and party discipline.

During Stalin's rule (1929-1953) the press was a terrified servant of the party. Under Khrushchev (1953-1964) there was a short-lived thaw. The language of the newspapers also changed somewhat – the rhetoric became less rigid. Although Brezhnev (1964-1982) brought the press back to a moderated form of Stalinist conformity, the Khrushchev period made its mark on a whole generation of the 1960s²⁸.

The western point of view has generally been that the Soviet press was a state-dependent organ charged with brainwashing and misinforming the population, propagating the Party's ideology and lacking any semblance of objectivity. In other words, it "fulfilled for the state the hegemonic functions of dominance, ideological homogenisation of the audience and reproduction of the existing social

²⁷ The Chief Administration for Protection of State Secrets, the Communist party organ for censorship

²⁸ These people became known as the 'shestidesiatniki' (the men and women of the sixties), and their experience and aspirations came to play an important role when Gorbachev became the general secretary of the Party in 1985 (Murray, 1994:13-14).

order" (Jakubowicz, 1995:127). It sounds very similar to Chomsky's opinion of the American press.

The Soviet view of the media follows a different line starting with terminology. This can be a handicap²⁹. One of the difficult terms is *publitsist*. Much more than a synonym for 'journalist' it describes a commentator on current affairs, a person who "writes the history of our days and strives to write it in a way that would bring as much help as possible to the participants of the movement and the heroic proletarians" (Lenin, quoted in Strel'tsov, 1990:9). A related term is *publitsistika*.³⁰ Strel'tsov views it as "an all-embracing method, encompassing different spheres of creative activity" (ibid.:8); it is "a means and a form for reflecting reality in journalism" (ibid.:14).

Another term that is found frequently in Soviet literature on media is *ideinyi*. The Oxford Russian English dictionary (1997, s.v.) offers four equivalents: 1. ideological, 2. expressing idea/ideas, engage; 3. progressive (from a Marxist point of view) and 4. high principled (from a Marxist point of view)³¹. So when the Party was asking the media to raise the *ideinyi* level, it was looking for a strengthening, justification and reinforcement of the ideological, Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. In a decree of April 1979 it charged the press with developing the militant character of propaganda and agitation, ensuring high scientific level and strengthening its links with life (Solganik, 1981:8).

Synthesizing the work of others, Strel'tsov concluded that the role of the Soviet media consisted of three primary tasks: firstly, reflecting and fixing – providing information about reality; secondly, managing, reforming and organising – which

²⁹ And not just to the western researchers, as Strel'tsov (1990:8) notes "...this led to cardinal different pronouncements/opinions on journalism.

³⁰ Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Russian revolutionary democrats have between them provided quite a list of qualities that distinguish *publitsistika* from other genres of writing. They include overt party spirit, *ideinost'*, militant and aggressive/offensive spirit, theoretical depth, high principled-ness, political acuity/sharpness, revolutionary spirit, truthfulness, tendentiousness/bias, specificity/concreteness, topicality, ability to convince, passion, imagery, emotionality and wit (Strel'tsov, ibid.:12). *Narodnost'*, *massovost'* and *kritika/samokritika* were three other qualities demanded from *publitsistika* – being for, by and close to the people, serving mass interests and criticising as well as taking criticism when needed. (Becker, o.cit.:24). To be engaged in *publitsistika* then was very demanding.

³¹ The noun *ideinost'* is similarly translated as: 1. ideological content; 2. progressive character, and 3. principle or integrity (the last two from a Marxist point of view). It could perhaps be rendered as 'ideological correctness'.

led to changed social reality; and thirdly, offering an aesthetic element which ensured an active intake of the text material and satisfied literary demands of the readers (Strel'tsov, *ibid.*:9).

'Partiinost' party spirit or allegiance belongs to this group of highly charged words, too.

It is not possible to speak of the Soviet press and not mention *samizdat*³², the illegal, underground press - articles, stories and books that could not be published officially but were laboriously typed in multiple copies and distributed from friend to friend. The dissidents who published *samizdat* played an important role in sustaining the opposition but encompassed only a narrow circle of intellectuals.³³ The word *dissident* was unfamiliar to most Russians³⁴.

Unlike the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia was a democracy between the two world wars. It was integrated into western intellectual life, and its politicians, scientists and writers actively participated in and were respected for their work in different fields across Europe. The second world war interrupted this participation, and in 1948 the country found itself within the political sphere of the Soviet Union. Imitation of the Soviet model which became the norm replaced genuine exchanges of ideas (Fidelius, 1983:73).

The study of Czechoslovak journalism is described as an 'unhappily compromised servitude' (Köpplová and Jiráček, 2004:79) which slid into a study of the theory of genres and later (in the 1970s-1980s) into a quasi-scientific study of propaganda, sociology and psychology. The role of the press during the life-span of socialist Czechoslovakia (1948 - the late 1980s) could be paraphrased in similar vein – a quasi-scientific exercise in propaganda and education in the political consciousness of the masses (cp. Gulyás, 2003:83).

³² *Samizdat* is a kind of a mocking pun on the Soviet predilection for producing compound names for state institutions and then abbreviating them; the first part of the word means doing the activity oneself, *sam* 'self', and *-izdat* -publish are the first two syllables of *izdatel'stvo* – a publishing house. Many publishing houses were named in this vein, e.g. *pedizdat* (pedagogical publishing house) *politizdat* (publishing house for political literature) and so on.

³³ Androunas, *op.cit.*:7; Aumente, 1999:51

³⁴ The word *raskol'nik* schismatic, dissident, was used for religious dissent and had a distinctly archaic flavour.

In a collection of articles Fidelius (1983) analyses the role of propaganda in Czechoslovakia. In his view, it is the most powerful political tool of the socialist ideology and language is strategically the most effective tool of propaganda (ibid.:8-9). The effectiveness of this tool is partly due to sloppy thinking and partly due to careless use of language, what he calls 'semantic inflation' and 'language corruption' (ibid.:11).

The secret of the socialist propaganda lies in the fact that existing words such as 'the people', 'democracy', 'science' etc. are imbued with diametrically different content, they undergo what the author calls 'semantic metamorphosis' (ibid.:95), so any individual who is not aware of that can be misled (ibid.:89). This becomes clear when different statements of party ideologues are examined, as Fidelius (ibid., passim) does in great detail. This tendency for political terminology to become 'emancipated' (ibid.:24) means that the vocabulary has to be learnt anew in order to understand what is meant. In educating the new man it almost appears as if a new Orwellian speech is created (ibid.:127).

A ploy which Fidelius asserts is used with great success by 'contemporary' propaganda is transposing the events from social or political to a personal level³⁵.

'Political relations where functional roles of individuals are on the level of specific, mainly power interests and where moral principles can also only be enforced through this power play are transposed to strictly inter-human relations where individual characteristics are decisive, just like in fairy tales. The king can be good or bad but is not shown as a representative/agent of the feudal class³⁶' (Fidelius, 1983:111).

Thus bad decisions of the Party could be transposed to an individual without the system being discredited.

Another feature is the levelling out of faults. All faults and errors are seen as of equal value, whether it is misusing power by the party leader or hoarding spare machinery parts by a local factory manager. If power is misused in the totalitarian

³⁵ McNair (2000:6) also talks of the trend of personalisation and dramatisation of news which leads to subsequent depolitisation of the population. However, the fairy tale imagery of Fidelius remains valid in these circumstances, too. The same trend is noted by Jiráková and Köplová (2003).

state it is proffered as the fault of an individual. (If identified in a capitalist state it is described as a phenomenon intrinsically embedded in the very foundation of the system (ibid.:126)).

The last major piece of equipment in its armoury, the major axiom of propaganda, as Fidelius sees it, is the duality of everything. People, societies, interests, criticism are either good or bad. Dichotomy rules. There is no third way (ibid.:141). This he sees as the result of totalitarian thinking (which precedes totalitarian societies by many centuries) and which he bases on the nature of man³⁷. So the communist ideology cultivates intolerance to everything different, strange or non-conformist by excluding all doubts, variations and alternatives (Androunas, ibid.:29).

2.2.3 Transitional period: from Soviet to post-Soviet press

The transitional period lasts, so Western and post-Soviet researchers broadly agree, from 1988 to about 1992-3³⁸. Gorbachev had been in power since March 1985³⁹ when he captured the imagination of the Russians with the idea of *glasnost*'. This was not a new word, it meant that court procedures were open to the public, the opposite of 'in camera'.⁴⁰ Undoubtedly the reason for choosing it was its connotations. In the late 1980s it stood for lifting (some) taboos, allowing an open discussion of topical issues, letting people say what they thought and doing away with the fear of what you say being used against you by the authorities. It was an attempt to return to a political culture of debate and difference, an effort to shed Stalinism and to instigate a discussion that would lead to the solution of the many economic problems (McNair, 1993:57). It led at first

³⁷ In his view, people hanker after an unambiguous world, seek clear, definite answers to all their questions, desire unity. 'It is a spiritual capitulation before plurality and ambivalence of the world' (Fidelius, ibid.:164-5) and it paves the way for a totalitarian ideology. Fidelius explains how even intelligent and/or educated people can succumb to the suggestion that there are only ever two options to everything, and join in the separating (even by force) of the good from the bad, the worthy from the unworthy and so on (ibid.:169.)

³⁸ However, Jones (2002) extends transitional period to 1997.

³⁹ There is a large number of works dealing with the Gorbachev years, e.g. Brown A. 1996 *The Gorbachev Factor*; Hosking o:cit; Gorbachev M.S 1995 *Memoris*; Walker R 1993 *Six years that shook the world*, and many others.

⁴⁰ *Glasnost*' first appeared in similarly reformist times in the 1860s-70s, Hickman J., 1981

to tentative, but increasingly bolder articles in the press on all manner of matters, economic, social, and later on political and religious. To appreciate the enormous leap that the media had made, it is necessary to keep remembering the tight control exerted on them before.

Some researchers believe that to a certain extent the introduction of *glasnost* was driven by the appearance of new information technologies which made it impossible to keep people ignorant of what was going on, such as computers, telephones (both landlines and mobiles), satellite television etc. (McNair, 1993:57).

The first legal document regulating the media in the history of the USSR, the Law on the Press and the Other Mass Media⁴¹, was adopted by the Soviet legislature in June 1990 and went into force in August of that year. It provided for citizens' rights to the freedom of expression, state/government obligations in providing information, journalists' rights and obligations to obtain information and dispense it objectively (McNair, 1993:53-4) and so indicated the end of Party control of the media. Although censorship was officially abolished, it continued to exist. There have always been state secrets, and to this day the responsibility falls on editors not to divulge them. The former censorship department has been renamed, its 'services' called consultations and payment is required for them (Androunas, op.cit.:42 ff).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the west expected that the Russian press, free from censorship and Marxism-Leninism, would model itself on its western counterpart (de Smaele op.cit.:173). Certainly many changes have taken place in a short time. When Yeltsin came to power in 1992 he inherited a press that was comparatively free. Different points of view were represented in different newspapers without their freedom of speech being seriously impaired (Pursglove, 1995:15). A division formed between popular press and broadsheets, with the broadsheets emulating the western press in news-gathering and presentation. Most newspapers (popular or serious) seemed to be surviving on a mixture of

⁴¹ Zakon Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik o pechaty i drugikh sredstvakh massovoi informatsii, Moscow, Kremlin, 12 June 1990. McNair provides a detailed description of the arguments preceding the adoption of the law and discusses the law's merits (op.cit. :53 ff).

sensationalism and serious political news (Pursglove, *ibid.*:15). Economic problems and political changes in the more recent past have had an adverse effect, leading to considerable regression (Jones, 2002:171-2).

The end of the 1980s which brought major social changes throughout Central and Eastern Europe made it possible for Czechoslovakia to begin (re-)building a liberal-democratic society (Köpplová and Jiráček, 2004). After the country split into two, a number of changes began to take place.

In the early years the relationship between the state and the media was far from smooth. Politicians not accustomed to have their policies criticised attempted to intervene in various ways⁴². With time mainly formal mechanisms were applied, usually written in legislation ‘typically involving control of content for social and security reasons’ (Galyás, *ibid.*:83). On the whole researchers found that in the latter part of the 1990s freedom of the press in the Czech Republic was largely respected (*ibid.*).

2.2.4 The role of the press in Russian/post-Soviet and Czech societies and key concepts

Cultural traits play an important role in the Russian press of today. Although journalists are no longer apologists and publicists for the Party, they are conditioned by their past. Gross (1999:154-5) in his critique says that informational and watchdog quality are still rare in Russian journalism and that many media workers are engaged in indoctrination for one cause or another. They have a variety of agendas – political, religious, nationalist or frivolous. His comment echoes the criticism levelled at the Anglo-American press by Chomsky, Hartley and others, and Gross's remarks show idealistic expectations of the Russian press and a lack of realism vis-à-vis the western press.

⁴² E.g. by indirect subsidies to the publications that supported their views (Galyas, 2003:86), or perhaps forcing people who were critical of them to resign (Kettle, 1997:53).

It is also important to remember that journalism in post-Soviet Russia can be a dangerous profession⁴³. Numerous reporters in the 1990s produced well-researched articles and TV or radio programmes. For several of them the cost was their lives, (Dmitrii Kholodov in 1994 and Vladimir Listiev in 1995, probably to criminal elements they were trying to expose, perhaps other reasons, too, (Downing, 1996). Anna Politkovskaya, murdered in October 2006, was – it was claimed by CBS news (8 October 2006) - one of 43 journalists killed in Russia since 1993. The journalists have been much more cautious since (Pursglove 1995:20). After all, as G.B. Shaw said: ‘Assassination is the extreme form of censorship’⁴⁴.

The threat to press freedom comes from different quarters: *oligarchs* trying to extend their political clout (Jones, 2002), regional leaders jealous of their position, organised crime structures, the government that does not like to be criticised (Schepp et al., 2006⁴⁵). Furthermore, job security has diminished with frequent closures of newspapers and radio and TV stations. Privately owned media and their owners and journalists in the provinces seem particularly vulnerable (Jones, 2002). Despite these infractions it would seem that the role of the post-Soviet media now is not that different from its role in the west.

The situation was somewhat different in the Czech media. Researchers point out two traditions: the American one where a greater emphasis is placed on information and facticity⁴⁶ and the European one where commentaries and argumentation are the more traditional approach (Osvaldová, 2004b:15).

According to Osvaldová (Osvaldová et al., 2001:13) objectivity, that is a non-ideological, apolitical and unbiased system of news reporting, does not exist but

⁴³ This is not to say that Russia is the only place where journalists are murdered. The reference here is to show one of the ways to prevent people from speaking/writing freely.

⁴⁴ Shaw, G.B. (1909) *Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet*.

http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=12684&pageno=1 [Accessed 2/6/07]

⁴⁵ There is sometimes pressure by the state for a certain view of reporting (e.g. Chechnya in 1994-5) and censorship has been temporarily restored at times. (Pursglove, 1995:21; Blundy, 1998; Wittell and Binyon, 2000; Zarakhovitch, 2002,).

⁴⁶ Osvaldová (2004b :12) quotes E.J.Dionne from *The Washington Post* who believes the US press has reached a stage of disinterestedness and offers its readers a kaleidoscope of curios leaving readers without any notions of right or wrong and what is the expected development.

there are numerous methods that can help to achieve some kind of balance⁴⁷. Essential conditions for unbiased reporting consist of safeguarded freedom and independence of the media and society. Šebesta (2001:108) links objectivity with a number of linguistic aspects such as relevance and matter-of-factness, and with emotional, evaluative and expressive neutrality.

In their article tracing the sources of Czech thinking about the media Köpplová and Jiráček (2004:82) noted that already in the late 1920s there was an interest in the study of journalism, with clear practical aims. One was an improvement of the quality of journalistic work, another strengthening of the democratic system of the country and educating readers in democracy by shaping public opinion. The educating role was always, it would seem a part of the Czech journalists' brief. As an article in *Rudé právo* declared on its pages in September 1978:

...'*Rudé právo* is irreplaceable as far as informing the citizens, their education, their entertainment and instruction are concerned' (Svoboda, 1978:3⁴⁸).

In her introduction to *Zpravodajství v mediích*⁴⁹, Osvaldová (Osvaldová et al., 2001:10) names three functions of a journalist: an objective mediator, an educator and an active representative of the public. In her opinion, the role of an objective mediator has been perhaps achieved in the USA (but see footnote 46); she believes that the educating role presupposes certain characteristics in the public, namely backwardness, lack of understanding of what is good for it and a need for help and guidance. The author is critical of the role of the active representative of the public, too. Although it is a role that has traditionally been called the *watchdog of democracy* journalists who have adopted such a stance have at times used their status to direct and speed up events towards their desired outcome. This is a dubious and undesirable role, she argues.

After the collapse of socialism the print media had gone through considerable changes both as a result of technological advances (which affected the press

⁴⁷ Clarity, completeness of information, plurality of opinions, terminological neutrality etc. (c: Dennis and Merrill op.cit.).

⁴⁸ Svoboda J., *Rudé právo*, 23.9. 1978, quoted in Fidelius, 1983:71

⁴⁹ *Reporting in the media*

everywhere) but specifically because of the political changes in the country (Gulyás, 2003). The communist party no longer subsidised the publications nor directed what was to be said, and other parties entered the political arena.

As a result of these changes the role of the press has begun to evolve in different ways. The main consideration is economic survival; commercial interests have become dominant which influenced the production of the newspapers. Some researchers (see Osvaldová, 2004b:12) call the present period ‘the era of marketing dailies’. The state of the market influences the sales. The pricing of the publications has to be more realistic which means the cost of the newspapers has gone up. Additionally a greater variety of opinions is possible leading to more choice. Other authors still see the press as exercising roles other than simply informative: educational, awareness-awakening, persuasive and recruiting have been mentioned (Čechová et al., 1997:195).

According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations Czech Republic (2003 and 2007) the most popular national daily in 1999 was *MF Dnes*, followed by *Blesk* and then by *Právo*, see Table 2.1 below. By 2006 (the latest annual figures) *Blesk* became the highest selling daily. It and *Sport* were the only papers that gained readership.

Czech papers	daily	Average monthly sales in 1999	Average monthly sales in 2006
Blesk		283 620	476 892
Hosp.nov.		86074	62 797
Lid.noviny		82117	72 634
MF Dnes		353 991	303 355
Právo		249 217	162 875
Slovo		59811	N/A
Sport		59783	66 504
ZN-Zemské n.		121733	N/A

Table 2.1 Average monthly sales of dailies in 1999 ©ABC ČR 2003

As the success of the tabloid *Blesk*⁵⁰ shows, entertainment and sport have become very important in the post-socialist period, although most of the national newspapers have continued to supply serious information. The political plurality allows for different views to be disseminated and so to a certain extent the 'watchdog' role has been reinstated (Gulyás, *ibid.*:84; Osvaldová, 2004b:13).

The role of the press was affected also by changes in society following the Velvet revolution⁵¹, from occupational shifts to leisure, demographic and cultural changes (Galyás, *ibid.*:90). Together with commercialisation and internationalization they led to a fragmentation of the readership and influenced media consumption patterns. The entertainment role has become very important because it helps promote sales.

2.3 Comparison of the press systems (ownership, distribution, advertising, etc.)

Control over the press can be exerted by ownership, provision of print, distribution of newspapers, relationship with the government, equipment availability, news-gathering and news selection. They can have huge influence on the choice of topics and the language in which these topics are coached. Limited resources can prevent the message from reaching the audience. These aspects of Western, socialist and post-socialist press systems are discussed in the following pages.

2.3.1 The western press system

In the west, the press is in private hands. It is dominated by giant companies, expanding into other media, reaching across borders and turning into global businesses; in Britain, for example, ten companies share ownership of the twenty

⁵⁰ *Blesk* publishes primarily sensational and entertaining stories and some sport.

⁵¹ The mass demonstrations on 17th November 1989 which brought about the overthrow of the communist regime

national newspapers (McNair, 1994:141)⁵². Theoretically, anybody with enough capital can start a newspaper⁵³, however, only few succeed because it is a very costly business. Making money is essential for newspapers' survival. There are two ways of achieving that: one is to sell a large number of issues; the other is to obtain revenue from advertising. From the early days of newspaper publishing, advertising has been an inseparable part of the news business.

Both the advertisers and the owners can, exert pressure on the editors, and demand that their views are taken into account and publicised (Morley, 1998:20). It is a contentious issue whether different owners make it possible to provide the public with different points of view or whether they are all endorsing the same opinions.

The provision of print in the free market economy is a self-regulating system where resources flow according to rules of supply and demand. Although it is a very important commodity for the newspaper producers, it is just another item of expenditure as are salaries, printing ink, computers or printing presses. If there is money, the management purchase whatever is needed for producing the newspapers.

Distribution is also a vital part of the process (Hartley, 1982:136). In 1982 there were three wholesalers/distributors: W.H.Smith, John Menzies and a smaller firm Surridge Dawson. Between them they distributed 57% of all newspapers in England and Wales and 69% of magazines. Menzies distributed 79% of newspapers and 93% of magazines in Scotland. According to the *Association of Newspaper and Magazine Wholesalers*, in 2006 these three firms accounted for 97% and 86% of the UK magazine & newspaper markets respectively. This is a considerable increase. Such a domination of the market serves as a kind of censorship because these firms can refuse to distribute smaller publications either because they say it is not financially viable or because they do not agree with the

⁵² The ownership keeps changing, and the number of owners is down to eight at the time of writing. Media ownership in the UK (n.d.)

<http://www.cultsock.ndirect.co.uk/MUHome/cshtml/media/mediaown.html> [accessed 6/1/08)

⁵³ In Britain this did happen successfully with the launch of *The Independent* in 1987 (McNair,ibid.:134-5)

content. If the distributors refuse to accept a particular publication, that publication does not reach the newsstands. That is why radical papers are not readily available. It is therefore very difficult for alternative press or other types of mass media to survive (Bell, 1991:136).

A very important element in newspaper production is news gathering. This, too, is becoming more centralised (Bell, 1991:16-17). There are four large news-agencies⁵⁴ and between them they provide and distribute most of the international news that tends to reflect the interests of the powerful nations of the world. Domestic news is provided by internal news agencies e.g. *Press Association* in the UK (Bell, *ibid.*). Governments and social and business organisations have public relation officers who produce ready-made stories with a special slant on the text (known as spin), favourable to their organisation (Bell, *ibid.*:158-160).

Selection of news is accomplished in two stages. The news-gathering comes first and the second is then carried out in the editorial office. News stories are selected for specific reasons. These have been categorised over the years, starting with Galtung and Ruge' criteria in 1965⁵⁵. The editors also strive to take into account the newspaper owners' and advertisers' preferences and the interests of their own readers (Morley, 1998).

As can be seen western press systems can be influenced by a number of factors, they are not totally independent. The owners, advertisers, governments and distributors all can impose their will on the editors. Some of the journalistic practices also lead to reducing the variety of views. However, this influence is covert rather than overt. Despite the limitations there is still some scope left for publications of individuality and differences of opinions.

⁵⁴ *Reuters* is the biggest, followed by *Associated Press*, *United Press International* and *Agence France Presse*.

⁵⁵ The list includes among others the following – negativity, deviance, recency, frequency, eliteness, proximity, meaningfulness and consonance. There are unambiguity and unexpectedness or novelty, superlativeness, relevance, personalisation, quality of attribution and facticity. However, these criteria do not fit the 1979 and 1989 headlines in the collected corpora and so have not been used. References to them are made where appropriate (generally in the 1999 body of material).

2.3.2 The Soviet and Czechoslovak press system

In the socialist system the state was the sole owner of all means of production which it allocated to various organisations. Therefore, the organisations were ostensibly owners of the printing houses. For example the publishing house *Pravda* not only published the daily *Pravda*, but also the weekly *Ogonek* as well as a number of other journals and books. However, the control remained in the hands of the state and the Party. "In the Soviet Union ownership was in theory by the people and in practice by the party or state elites" (Androunas, 1993:11).

Supplies of material (e.g. printing ink and paper) as well as circulation limits were allocated at the highest level. However popular a newspaper or journal was, it could not increase its readership unless the Party desired it, only the Party and government publications had no limits (Androunas, 1993:13). The Party, through the State planning commission, decided the cost of the individual products. Realistic values were not taken into account; everything was based on the ideological value. Even subscription was in the hands of the state through the state owned Post Office. The Party was also the sole distributor of all the publications and provider of distribution outlets.

The Party control over the means of production and distribution of the newspapers was not just physical. It controlled people's mind, too. There was censorship (Androunas, 1993:30-54) and the selection of personnel (the state was the sole employer of journalists, editor-in-chief and section editors. These people were in their majority from the *nomenklatura*⁵⁶. Most journalists also exercised self-censorship. Not all of them believed implicitly in the Party's wisdom but for their self-preservation they paid lip service to it. There were few dissident journalists, who dared to disagree with government policies in samizdat publications (Aumente, 1999).

⁵⁶ A list that held all the important positions and the potential candidates for these positions. They were people whom the Party trusted to do the work as required by the Party. For loyalty to the Party there were rewards, for failing there were punishments. With time, the punishments were less severe, the likelihood of losing one's life or going to jail was smaller, but it still entailed very unpleasant prospects of losing one's job, inability to find another employment of similar type and then there may have been repercussions for the family members. Few people dared to disobey.

Another approach to securing the Party's wishes was through education. In few countries were journalists as well educated as in the USSR. They had a university degree, with literary training, a thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, working class movements, political theory, foreign languages etc. Western observers called it indoctrination. Much emphasis was put on the propagandist role of the press⁵⁷. This had consequences for the profession.

"The journalists and key management personnel in this elaborate network of print and broadcast were strictly regulated. Their education, selection and employment were used as means of control, reward or punishment" (Aumente, 1999:70)⁵⁸.

The news agency TASS had a distinctly different status from other world agencies as it strove to disseminate positive information about the Soviet Union. It became "widely known not as an effective news agency but as an official tool of propaganda for the Soviet government" (Rantanen and Vartanova, 1995:208). TASS had no competition within the Soviet Union until 1989 when the first unofficial private agencies *Postfactum* and *Interfax* made an appearance (Ibid.).

There were two separate fields in which journalists worked. The political arena, where their work was controlled and guided and where no deviation was possible. In that field there were no other facts than those provided by the Party, and their accuracy could not be questioned. Objectivity was not important. The information handed out in press conferences or party briefings was to be passed on to the readers with appropriate elucidations, explanations, opinions and interpretation, and in appropriate language, be it an event in the USSR or outside (Androunas, op.cit.).

⁵⁷ Lenin summed up the functions of the press as a collective propagandist, collective agitator and collective organiser (Lenin 1966:76).

⁵⁸ One of the perks of being a Soviet journalist, especially if working for one of the more prominent papers, was access to foreign newspapers and foreign agencies' information. For particularly well placed and trusted people there was an opportunity to work abroad as foreign correspondents.

The other arena was life in the Soviet Union, and there existed vigorous investigative journalism, within certain boundaries allowed by the Party. This was not only allowed but actively encouraged, as long as it did not touch upon the guiding role of the Party and the correctness of its actions. *The Pravda* received thousands of letters every week, and many of them were followed up by the journalists in an effort to help the readers. Unfortunately, many problems were caused not so much by individuals as by the system in which these people had to work. This, however, had to be explained away as mismanagement, ignorance or some other fault of individuals. The system itself was beyond criticism (Androunas, 1993, cp. Fidelius, 1983).

All information that the Party considered important had to be published. There were three main categories of news stories: 1. positive stories about the Soviet Union; 2. critical articles attempting to set right some perceived wrong and make life better; 3. negative articles about the west (see Kulakov, op.cit.; McNair, 1994; Becker, op.cit.). Certain topics were absent from public discourse until about 1986 – crime, industrial disputes, poverty, homosexuality, Aids. Journalists were required to emphasise positive social phenomena at home and underplay or hide domestic disasters⁵⁹.

Turning to Czechoslovak journalism, Osvaldová (2004b:12) states in her study that in the sphere of print media financial returns were not particularly emphasized after WWII and as journalism was supported by the state since the 1950s it was generally accepted that it was the ideology rather than money that mattered.

There was no freedom of speech and censorship operated in the same way as it did in the USSR. Whoever was expected to offer their opinion, whether they were the first secretary of the party or a village correspondent, provided the current party view:

⁵⁹ E.g. the nuclear reactor explosion at Chernobyl that was concealed from the Soviet news audience for several days (McNair op.cit.:30).

‘Freedom of speech practically does not exist...and a strict central supervision of the press causes all voices to have... from the propaganda/promotional point of view basically the same validity’ (Fidelius, 1983:25).

Furthermore, members of the communist party, again following the Soviet practice, were placed in key positions and they were bound by party rules to obey party instructions. Galyás (2003:83) summed up the situation very succinctly: ‘No diversity, no press freedom’.

The formal abolition of censorship in the revised 1966 law that came into force in 1990 (Šmíd, 2004:144) and the absence of a ministry responsible for press and information are seen as an important factors (Osvaldová, 2004b:11) in advancing towards independent opinions and press freedom. The updated 1966 press law also enabled legal and natural persons, be they Czech, Slovak or foreign residing in Czechoslovakia to become owners and publishers of periodic publications.

A new press law was adopted on 22nd February 2001 (Osvaldová, 2004b:11; Galyás, *ibid.*:85). Press laws are generally seen as ‘the tool for the protection of the freedom of the press’ (Osvaldová, *ibid.*). However, the cost of investigative journalism and readers’ preference for scandalous topics rather than social and political issues present a menace to media freedom and pluralism’ Šmíd (*ibid.*:161) believes.

In the Czech lands the interlinking of political groups and newspapers, begun in the latter part of the 19th century, culminated during 1918-1938 and only the year 1989 brought the end of publishing of newspapers by political parties or voluntary social organisations⁶⁰ (Osvaldová et al., 2001:17). During the communist period all the publishing houses were owned by state organizations.

⁶⁰ Some parties held onto their newspapers till 1992. There is one exception, *Halo sobota* (a weekly) is published by the communist party (Šmíd, 2004).

2.3.3 The Russian and Czech press system

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the printed media experienced serious problems. Most state subsidies stopped⁶¹ (Jones, 2002:363; Downing, 1996:130). Inflation decimated people's incomes, so sales dropped. The income from advertising diminished too, as few firms could afford it. Production and distribution costs soared and as a result many papers closed down. It is estimated that only one third of publications survived (Hiebert, 1999:95). Patronage by big business helped some, although it incurred intervention in the editorial policies.

De Smaele (1999:173) who examined the situation at a later date noted that against expectations Russian media reformed along the western model only on the economic front. Two driving forces were at play - state control and commercialisation (de Smaele, *ibid.*:184-6). Jones (2002:370-1) in his article on *Izvestia* noted, that a struggle for the control of the media was taking place. Several of the private owners who have disagreed with the government have found themselves in severe difficulties. They have been bullied, fined and /or jailed, and the more recent (pro-government) owners tend to impose conditions which are tantamount to censorship.

De Smaele nevertheless believed that the introduction of market economy led to greater openness, and saw the adoption of the law on the Mass Media as very positive. She found the press more differentiated, covering formerly taboo topics and identifying itself with different parties (*ibid.*:177). Other researchers, however, suggest that these are surface changes only, that the new powers follow the old principles and that privatisation is not supporting the emerging market economy but leads to personal enrichment of a few individuals (Downing, 1996:129 ff.).

Although state censorship is now virtually non-existent, there are lists of state secrets and there are taboos still⁶² (Androunas, 1993; Downing, 1996). Many

⁶¹ The state continued to provide some support for radio and TV because they were felt to be very influential.

⁶² E.g. The Russian nuclear arsenal; the bacteriological research, viz the Mirzayanov case (Downing 1996, :139 ff); the sinking of the *Kursk* etc. Nuclear waste threat – a member of the

people from the Soviet past are working in the field, both as active journalists or as teachers, and their attitudes have not changed. Many dislike fact-based reporting, seeing it as a waste of time (Gross, 1999:170-1). Even now, years after the disintegration of the USSR, the state tends to revert to the Soviet way of behaviour (threats, imprisonment, introduction of laws to help limit the media)⁶³ when it feels threatened or does not wish to allow its actions to be scrutinised.

In order to remain commercially viable, the print media employ a variety of means. The higher cost of individual publications, a much greater diversity of interests and availability of computer and telephonic technology to satisfy these interests means that fewer people purchase individual publications. The print media are trying hard to find a niche for themselves, publishing a variety of supplements for the different interest groups as well as regional editions (www.aif.ru., 2002). They are able to offer a greater variety of information due to the existence of several independent Russian news agencies and better contacts with foreign agencies.

Changes continue to take place. Compared with the transitional period some of the earlier gains have been lost. The state is re-establishing its former influence, not so much through state agencies but through allegiances of the new owners/publishers and broadcasters. Intimidation has been used to exert control, too. The cultural inheritance and habits of a lifetime are also playing a role in retarding or even reversing former gains.

The situation changed in Czechoslovakia, too. After 1989 the print media changed owners. The editors of *Rudé právo* formed their own company *Borgis a.s.* and used the existing readership base to publish the daily. Most of the other newspapers and magazines did not have such substantial moneys and were acquired by foreign companies/publishing houses⁶⁴ which provided the investment and technical refurbishment and so facilitated their survival.

organisation Beluga was put in prison for revealing state secrets even though the information he was supposed to have divulged was available in various newspapers. (Rush, 1998, Dissertation).

⁶³ Lagnado, 2000,

⁶⁴ The new owners are predominantly German. For more detailed information see Šmíd, 2004:152

According to Galyás (ibid.:97) around 37% of Czech national daily newspapers were in foreign hands in 1991. This figure rose to 60% in 1999 and just over 80% in 2001. Šmíd (2004:143) noted that the state kept controlling shares in only two media-related companies, the distribution company *První novinová společnost* and the state stock company *Česká typografie*.

Only one press agency, *Československá tisková kancelář (ČTK)*, existed between 1918 and 1992. It was established as a state agency with an extensive network of correspondents at home and abroad. During the socialist period the agency became a tool of the communist party propaganda. Two types of news were produced, the one, censored for the general public and the other for the narrow party and state elite membership. Though formally in the hands of the state, the ČTK was controlled by the Communist party (ČTK, 2007).

In 1992 the *Československá tisková kancelář* was replaced by *Česká tisková kancelář*. It became a juridical person (Osvaldová et al., 2001:18). Since then the ČTK has been governed by public law and it is a statutory institution. It is governed by the ČTK Council, whose members are elected by the parliament of the Czech Republic. As of 1996 it is a politically and economically independent news agency, it receives no subsidies and has been a profit making organization since 1997 (ČTK, 2007).

When denied state subsidies publishers were forced to look for other sources of income as subscription fees were insufficient to sustain publication. This they found in advertising. According to Šmíd (2004:146) the advertising expenditure rose over 18 times between 1990 and 2002 (from 9.54 million euros to 176.9 million euros). Such dependence on advertising however makes smaller publishers vulnerable to pressure from advertisers. As Šmíd (ibid.:154) put it when referring to *Právo*: ...'Právo, not having the backing of a financially strong owner, is liable to yield to the pressure of advertising money'. However, financially strong owners may similarly exert pressure on their editors, so it is no safeguard from manipulation either.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter a review of different features relevant to the study of the print media was offered. The review revealed that opinions on the key concepts vary considerably among western researchers as well as between the western and 'eastern' ones and though they may use on occasion the same sounding terms the meaning is by no means always the same.

A similar situation was noted regarding the role of newspapers in the two different societies. The western model is market-driven, whereas the socialist model paid little attention to the economic costs; rather it was concerned with re-enforcing people's adherence to the existing system and ideology. A similar dichotomy is seen regarding the press systems, although the tendency towards monopolies and so an ability to manipulate can be increasingly seen in the west recently⁶⁵.

Changes were observed in the post-socialist states' printed media. Some of the concepts, though not all, were converging towards their western interpretation. Removal of overt censorship, the emergence of different owners and of a variety of views led initially to a considerable level of editorial independence although the altered economic conditions caused the demise of many publications. However, further changes in the ownership of the media and the new political situation in the Russian federation as well as the Czech Republic seem to be creating a situation where fewer views can be expressed.

This chapter served to provide a background to the study of the headline language as it offered an opportunity to compare any potential constraints for language use. It was also useful to make a comparison with media research carried out in English speaking countries especially regarding attitudes to press roles, content and possible criteria used in headline studies.

⁶⁵ This can be seen in the concentration of distribution network as well as in the media ownership (ANMW, 2006; CJR, 2007, Underwood, 2003)

It became obvious that the criteria used by western researchers were not suitable for the headlines published during the socialist period because the newspapers role at the time was diametrically different from the western newspapers role, and so new criteria had to be devised that could be applied across the whole period. The literature review also revealed that some content categories could be of considerable interest, specifically the matter of subjects –what the headlines were about-, and the category of social/news actor.

The following chapter reviews literature which deals with the language of newspapers generally and the language of headlines specifically as considered by western (English-speaking), Russian and Czech studies.

3.0 The language of newspapers

3.1 Overview

Newspapers not only show the changing attitudes of people towards the institutions and towards one another but they also reflect most swiftly the language changes in society; they help to spread new words and expressions and on occasion also redefine meanings and coin new usage through invention, allusions, metaphors and other linguistic devices.

In this chapter the attention is focused on the language of newspapers generally and the language of headlines specifically, and as in chapter 2 western, Russian and Czech studies are reviewed separately. This approach offers an opportunity to show the breadth and variety of opinions in the respective societies. It also provides more varied sources of inspiration for the classification of headlines in the present study.

Thus, studies of the language in western newspapers are reviewed first, in section 3.2; in section 3.3 attention focuses on Soviet and Czechoslovak literature and section 3.4 provides a review of Russian/post-Soviet and Czech newspaper language. Section 3.5 offers a definition of a headline, and headline labelling is looked at in section 3.6. This is followed by a review of western, Russian and Czech (sections 3.7 and 3.8) studies dealing with the language of headlines. A summary is offered in the final section, 3.9.

3.2 Studies of the language in Western newspapers

In recent years the language of the press has been studied especially for its role in perpetuating power relationships in contemporary society (e.g Fairclough, 1995). Language analysis in the purely linguistic sense has been rare (e.g. Mardh, 1981). This is probably due to the influential role of Teun van Dijk and his work with the text (van Dijk, 1985, 1988b). This approach known as discourse analysis⁶⁶ is the

⁶⁶ The term was coined by Zellig Harris in 1952 (Turner 1973)

result of different but related developments in various disciplines⁶⁷. It strives to show how language influences the content, meaning, structures, and strategies of texts, but also that content, meaning, structures and strategies have an impact on language choice and language use (Van Dijk, 1991). Other researchers in the media field, such as Bell and Fowler, have also used or adapted this approach.

3.2.1 News events, protagonists and linguistic representation

In his study, van Dijk (1991) analysed how the press represented ethnic and racial events. He observed a number of recurring strategies⁶⁸. He concluded that lexical choices, syntax, and other characteristics could be exploited to maintain and perpetuate existing beliefs and definitions; they provided a framework for social representation (van Dijk, 1991:64). Such strategies may be used for ideological reasons but also non-ideological reasons, such as the various criteria of newsworthiness, editorial or personal bias or lack of time to investigate.

An important category in the context of representation is that of social actors; it can be divided into several sub-categories – men, women, institutions, parties etc. Van Dijk believes that the way in which social actors are presented and represented forms a part of a broader ideological structure of values.

It is (...) ideology that explains why specific groups are dealt with positively or negatively and why such value judgements constitute a coherent (though not necessarily psychologically consistent) system of social representation. This system features a hierarchically organized set of norms and values that defines fundamental goals of groups and their members (ibid.:147).

When individuals appear in the news they are seen either as a news source or as a news actor. They can be both of course, e.g. the president is a news source and a news actor. News actors may be well-known (politicians or celebrities), or less-

⁶⁷ For example anthropology, linguistics, poetics, psychology, micro-sociology, mass communication, history and political science.

⁶⁸ Nominalizations were often used to conceal the agent, especially if a representative of the establishment (e.g. police officer). The focus was on action (e.g. violence, crime) rather than on social causes leading to that action and important distinctions of vocabulary use were also noted (e.g. *mob* versus *crowd*). In this context the presence or absence of colour descriptor was significant, too. Other elements were also selected (e.g. perspective, vagueness, irrelevance etc) which were seen as major semantic features of (race) reporting (ibid.:179 ff).

known or unknown, e.g. witnesses of some event. It is worth noting that this group tends to be used as bearers of experience rather than providers of opinion (Fairclough 1995:49).

News actor selection, prominence and labelling are significant because the choices affect readers' perception (van Dijk, op.cit.:151, 163). Correlations have been made between news actors and grammatical structure of news stories. If an actor is mentioned before the predicate then he/she is viewed as an active agent, otherwise he/she is perceived as a passive agent (ibid.:60-1) News actors fall into different categories. Broadly speaking there are two groups – the knowns and the unknowns (Jucker, 1996:376). Bell offers eight different categories (1991:194) and van Dijk provides a list of over fifty (op.cit.:156-7).

The naming of news actors is not an arbitrary act. Their inclusion must be justified to show their newsworthiness. Various resources are available for this (such as linking them to a famous person – the son of XY; or using a modifier – the notorious XY). Jucker (1996:378)) distinguished four ways of expressing reference: by name, pronoun, descriptive label or combination of name and label. He found that the usage differed between types of newspapers but even between different sections of the same paper. Another study showed that newspapers often used people's first names or nicknames. This has been interpreted as a way of creating or re-inforcing a sense of familiarity and intimacy for the reader (Schaffer, 1995:32). It can, however, stand for other concepts also, such as distance, solidarity or casualness (Fowler, 1991:99).

The familiarity is reinforced by the media's colonization of everyday language, translating the sayings and doings of prominent people and institutions into a familiar idiom (Hartley, 1982:61). Hartley interprets the trend of conversationalisation of public language⁶⁹ as either a genuine shift in power relations in favour of ordinary people or as a strategy for the manipulation of

⁶⁹ e.g. the introduction of colloquial features, e.g. *booze*; or the use of the present tense (Hartley, ibid.:9-10)

people by those in power for ideological purposes (ibid.:13) Similar opinion is found in Hall et al (1978:61) stating that:

“This translation of official viewpoints into a public idiom not only makes the former more ‘available’ to the uninitiated; it invests them with popular force and resonance, naturalising them within the horizon of understandings of the various publics”.

Collocationss and vocabulary values are set by usage. Two distinct categories are proposed for evaluative words: *hooray* words and *boo* words (e.g. *liberated* and *terrorist*). The values are not simply linguistic, they are ideological, too (Hartley, op.cit.:21).

History is also relevant to the meaning of words, as over the years meaning can change and different groups perceive the same word differently. Evaluative differences are often presented in such a way. Similarly, lexical choices can conceal political differences as social and political forces fight out their differences in discourse (Hartley, 1982:24)⁷⁰.

Fowler (1991:1) is interested in "the role of linguistic structure in the construction of ideas in the Press". Linguistic variations, he claims, depend largely on social, political and economic factors that are decisive in a speaker's selection of lexis, language structures and register, thus the choices are outside the individual's control (ibid.:37). He examines various mechanisms for reproducing what he calls "the hierarchy of power" (ibid.:35). Evaluative lexis, different forms of address, abuse or endearment can be used to express judgement. Furthermore, lexis is seen as a means of representing culture, and as possessing a categorising function (op.cit.:84). Different styles can create the illusion of informality or authority. Other linguistic features (metaphors, foregrounding etc.) are used to attract readers and help them to remember the information, thus, Fowler believes, reinforcing their view of the world.

⁷⁰ The following example from Soviet history illustrates the point well: a political fight between pro-capitalist and anti-capitalist factions in the communist party in the 1980s was hidden behind the expressions *lichnyj* and *chastnyj*. Both words mean private but the former had a positive connotation whereas the latter was seen as negative. (Hedlund, 1989:70)

Fairclough (1995) argues the importance of language analysis in understanding the ongoing processes in society, be they social, cultural, political or economic. Through language, the media can influence people's knowledge, beliefs, values and identities. His *critical discourse analysis* revolves around a linguistic analysis of a given text, but also takes into account its production and consumption, which he calls discourse practice. Finally he takes into account situational, social and cultural context.

Bell, both a researcher and a journalist, can offer an insider's view of the practices. He is particularly interested in the creation of the news story and in the processes which produce media language. In his experience, many people are involved in the language of any one news story⁷¹.

Editing of news stories is vital to the success of the final product. What Bell calls *communicative efficiency*, the need to be heard and understood leads news story writers to try and fit their style to that of their readers or listeners. Although Bell accepts that the language of the news is neither objective, nor neutral because it is controlled by news values, he maintains that research does not support deliberate ideological intervention by news workers (op.cit.:214).

A somewhat different view of news language is that of Bignell (1997) who believes that "news language is parasitic on [the] discursive codes and ideological assumptions" of organizations that provide the media with information (Parliament and police statements, law courts reports etc.) the so called "accessed voices" (ibid.:92). However, journalists have to absorb the linguistic codes of the newspaper they work for, which in turn strives to emulate their readers' discourse.

Different mechanisms have been singled out that are used to this end, such as deliberate misspelling, short or incomplete sentences, slang words, clichés, first

⁷¹ Its life might begin as a press release or a news agency report. This is worked into a story by a journalist with input by a sub-editor and editor. The editorial policy will also influence the language by prescribing the ideological framing of news and its linguistic expression (Bell, 1991:30). Most publications have a specific 'house style' (news stylebook) that deals with spelling, punctuation policies, syntax and lexicon (op.cit.:82).

names and nicknames, modality, and questions and demands. Word play in the press are also used frequently, encompassing, puns, metaphors, similes and alliterations.

Metaphors in particular have attracted attention of researchers. Their popularity can be summarised thus: they can express the inexpressible, they are economical (compactness), vivid and memorable; they can imply intimacy, being understood by a specific sub-group, and using them can avoid personal commitment (implicitness). Finally, coining original metaphors or any figurative language can be seen as enhancing social status of the speaker (Lennon, 2004:44).

Although normally used in monolingual interaction, metaphors can be found in international contexts. By appealing to a common cultural frame, they can become an important diplomatic device, helping to break up rigid conceptual frames, introducing new options and stimulating political thought and imagination (Chilton and Ilyin 1993:10).

However, inevitably there are cultural variations, be they in terms of mental frames or different scripts that can hinder understanding. This was vividly illustrated in studies by Minaeva (1990) and by Chilton and Ilyin (1993) on the Russian metaphor 'the common European home', popularised by Gorbachev in 1985, and its use and/or modification in German and in French⁷².

Intertextuality is a notion that has gained a lot of attention in recent years in a wide variety of contexts. It was introduced first into French literary criticism in the late 1960s by Julia Kristeva in her discussion of Bakhtin's ideas on language, especially his dialogical principle (Wales, 1990:220). This principle is generally understood as a relationship between one text or utterance and another, a sort of a

⁷² The Russian word *dom* (house as a block of flats) that Gorbachev used has different connotation from the German *Haus* and French *maison* which are generally seen as single dwellings. This cultural individuality led to different or modified interpretation of the metaphor in the different languages.

dialogue between different texts and utterances. It can be a deliberate or an unwitting usage of another text.

People nowadays are surrounded by spoken and written words. With and without conscious thoughts individuals repeat a phrase or a saying they heard from a popular comedian or a politician or seen in an advertisement. Writers and journalists influence other people's writing as much as they may more or less consciously be influenced by a variety of texts themselves. In a somewhat simplified way then, intertextuality could be described either as a deliberate, or an unwitting borrowing or even an echo of one text in another. Cases of deliberate intertextuality have been seen as a form of allusion (Pope, 1998: 235-6).

Intertextuality can take on different forms. The most obvious is a quotation. Another type is a paraphrase that conveys the meaning of the original but in a different form. It is more difficult to recognise unless one is very familiar with the original. The last type of intertextuality is allusion. In this case some or all the features of the form are retained but the meaning is adapted to the new context. Thus it is not parasitic on the original; it appropriates creatively (Kellet, 1969, in Lennon, 2004).

There are many reasons why a deliberate reference to another text is made, and in literary studies many of these have been examined⁷³. In newspaper headlines the predominant need is to attract readers' attention. Allusive headlines are by their nature fairly easy to remember, and they are also often amusing or intriguing. These qualities can help to maintain the readership or even increase brand loyalty.

In the British printed media, especially in the tabloids, intertextuality is exploited frequently, the texts that are referred to come from a wide variety of sources such as songs, sayings and catch phrases from popular TV programmes⁷⁴.

⁷³ These range from stylistic, interpretative and evaluative, through metaphorical and deferential references, to irony and humorous punning (Lennon, 2004)

⁷⁴ 'Super Cally's frantic antics, isn't he atrocious' (The Express, 17 February 2000) is an example of this, referring to a song from the film, *Mary Poppins*.

3.3 Studies of the Russian/Soviet and Czechoslovak press language

The studies reviewed here discuss the language of the press during the socialist era which was influenced by state ideology. Russian language used prior to 1991 was sometimes termed *Soviet political language* (Zemtsov, 1986), *Soviet-type language* (Dunn, 1999a:4) or *the language of stagnation* (Litvinenko, 1991) and it existed in parallel to the ordinary language. This affected the lexis and the style; the language was kept within fairly narrow stylistic bounds (Dunn, 1999a:15). As Kruglov pointed out:

...the linguistic policy was subordinated to the political and socio-economic system. The Communist Party had a decisive role in shaping the status and corpus planning of each language in the Soviet Union 'as a tool for the acquisition and maintenance of power' (Kruglov, 1999:36).

Other types of language, i.e. colloquial, dialectal and substandard, were generally excluded. Such vocabulary was rarely found in fiction⁷⁵ or in dictionaries. Non-standard language, slang, vulgarisms and argot, was associated with anti-social groups, and to admit to their existence was unacceptable (Zemskaja, 1994).

A similar fate befell popular language (*prostorechie*) which was (and still is) widely used by large sections of the uneducated or little educated population. Official research establishments were against the study and inclusion in dictionaries of this type of Russian. In this case it was less ideologically based; rather it was the result of fearing the contamination of literary, cultured language by this "linguistic rubbish" (Zemskaja *ibid.*:98-9)⁷⁶.

Solganik (1981) views language through the Party programme for the mass media. Since they are the tools of Party propaganda and information, they must mobilize all language resources in order to exert effective and concentrated influence on the minds and feelings of people, the mass audience (*ibid.*:8). Thus social evaluation and communicative clarity are, to his mind, two very important principles of the

⁷⁵ This seemed to apply to mainstream fiction, as in the early 1980s several books appeared which flouted this rule, e.g. novels by Vladimir Sorokin (Uffelmann, 2006).

⁷⁶ Professionals, who worked with the groups using such language, had to know it too, (undercover policemen, psychologists, doctors dealing with drug addicts and others). It simply was not publicised (Zemskaja, *ibid.*:99).

language of social and political journalism which should be lively and interesting, exact, concise, expressive and accessible (ibid.:12).

A similar view was expressed by Kulakov in whose view Soviet journalists aimed to influence the reader by creating emotional, bright and unforgettable headlines (1982:22). He also noted other positive qualities of the Soviet press, such as love of peace, high morality and a rich spiritual world (ibid.:21).

Party allegiance defines both the content and the form of *publitsistika* – social and political journalism and so, Solganik believes, defines the choice, the functioning of the words in the newspapers and the formation of the system (structure) of newspaper lexis. As topics discussed in the press have political content and political slant, so the choice of language means carries a conscious and concentrated class and party character, i.e. social evaluation (op.cit.:13).

Evaluation as a general category applies to the whole language and encompasses emotionality (*emotsional'nost'*), expressiveness (*vyrazitel'nost'*), and stylistic slant (*okraska*). It is the least studied language category as it is hard to classify and quantify. In the language of newspapers this evaluative function is performed by lexis with a socially evaluative slant, which acquires an overt, intensive and all-embracing character. Ideological positions of the speakers play a major role in endowing words with these connotations. It is not an individual but a collective usage and newspapers not only select and reflect socially evaluative words but they also coin them (ibid.:8-11).

Solganik divides press lexis into three groups: socio-political (the most important one, in his opinion), evaluative, and non-evaluative or neutral. This seems a flawed division, as his socio-political section contains words linked with the communist ideology (e.g. 'party', 'Soviet', 'communist' etc.) and in fact, in a later chapter he declares them to be positively evaluative. Words in group 2 are words for agitation and propaganda and Solganik divides them into three subcategories: positive, negative and modally evaluative (he offers an example of 'bremia' = burden – we look positively at people bearing burdens). Words in group 3 are used for informative purposes and here he includes words providing expressions

of time, place and similar (ibid.:28). When discussing evaluation Solganik distinguishes between explicit and implicit evaluation: explicit evaluation is overt, even if the word stands alone, implicit evaluation is only felt in context. (Pen 1991:72, offers the same view). Positive and negative social evaluations are clearly separated and some neutral words can become evaluative in context.

The tasks of agitation and propaganda are to extol the new progressive, communist view of the world, and, Solganik explains, to denounce that which is reactionary and outdated, to fight a battle with the hostile imperialist ideology. This requires social evaluation and lexical units from many language fields can be used⁷⁷. An important role in providing negative evaluation is played by irony.

The last group that is examined is neutral lexis. This includes expressions of time, place, proper names, numerals etc. as well as *stroevye* words⁷⁸. These are words that lack an exact definition of lexical meaning without a context (e.g. *vopros* 'question', 'problem', 'topic'; but also clichés (which are seen here as a positive feature), set phrases and standard expressions. Solganik contradicts himself as earlier he demanded a lively language without clichés (cf. op.cit.:12)⁷⁹.

Strel'tsov (1990) looks at the different genres, such as editorial, report, review etc., used by Russian newspapers but he concentrates on their different structures. He, as other writers, quotes the various Party meetings and programmes emphasizing the importance of propaganda, the need for bright and expressive language. Two useful comments are on the importance given to figures (percentage, kilometres, tonnes, hectares etc.) (op.cit.:30) and on the fact that different stylistic means can be found in any one genre, in other words, he observes that journalists mix their styles (ibid.:72-3). The other sources of wisdom and examples to be followed are various publicists, writers and thinkers

⁷⁷ Lexis can comprise of highly formal literary words and substandard ones including lexemes from old Slavonic language, mythology, and religious terminology, the animal world, historicisms, obsolete vocabulary etc. with examples of positive and negative evaluation.

⁷⁸ 'Building words' - 'dummy words', words with little or no meaning (Morley 1998 :129); Bayley (1992) calls such words a 'methodological term' (in Morley, ibid.).

⁷⁹ The second half of Solganik's work deals- in considerable detail -with lexis that acquires evaluative property through context.

from the 19th century, starting with Marx and Engels, through Chernyshevsky and Belinsky to Lenin.

Pen (1991) analyses newspaper texts which he divides into integrative and disintegrative ones. Integrative texts fit, by their structure and content, into a particular subject or topic. Pen then looks at language use. Four thematic groups are separated. The first includes words, stock phrases and clichés (*shtampy*), lexical units and their combinations that have lost their lexical meanings, words such as *question* or *measure* (cf. Solganik's *stroyevye* words above). His second category includes what he calls set phrases (*ustojchivye vyrazheniia*). These are closer to collocations, including phrases such as *people of good will*⁸⁰. In the third category are various formulaic expressions and phrases, for example usage of dates, and the beginnings of fairy stories. The fourth category includes the rest of the language, which is used to compose the content of a given text.

The different topics that Pen studied can be broken further into various categories or fields. He is interested in the expressive function of the linguistic means that are used in describing the fields. The individual words may have their own emotional meaning or colouring, or they may only acquire it through context (op.cit.:73). Similarly, an evaluative meaning can be marked or unmarked in lexis, i.e. it can be explicit or implicit, for example, *hero*, *veteran*, *laureate* are lexical units in which the information that they are deserving of receiving, or have already received some honour is explicit (ibid.:79).

Pertinent comments were made in a short comparative study by Shveitser (1994) dealing with Russian pre- and post- perestroika periods, and Russian and Anglo-American press. Unfortunately the author didn't say which papers were compared and of which specific period. The functions were found to be broadly similar – information, novelty, expressiveness and influence or persuasion. Two notable features were emphasized: the greater brevity of UK/USA news stories and greater emotivity of the Russian news stories. Russian journalists also mixed

⁸⁰ This set phrase usually describes positive, generous, cheerful and generally optimistic people.

styles more and specialized terms tended to become looser, less specific⁸¹. Naturally enough metaphors and allusions were based on different cultural concepts in the two languages, in Russian they tended to be based on literary and elevated cultural sources whereas in English they were grounded in everyday language.

The Czech language of the mass media was under tight control of the censors and the Party during the socialist period, too, (Fidelius, 1983:25) and the style typically used was the publicist style (cf. chapter 2). As in the case of Russian, the Czech of the time was reproached for a variety of faults.

‘A view exists that Czech during the previous period became full of set phrases, a lot of clichés entered the language, the meaningful content of many words disappeared... Many people feel that in the past few decades Czech became cruder and its standard dropped.’ (Daneš, 1997:7)

Šebesta’s (2001:117, 120) comments are similar: clichés were used excessively, he stated, and through overuse lost their meaning and became ‘ritualised’. Another point he noted was related to an attempt to provide a full description of individuals or institutions that played an important role in the system be they home-grown or foreign. Thus, the names of heads of states and of visiting potentates were given all their titles and positions; this led to very cumbersome and long-winded sentences.

Publicist style was the style during the communist era in the USSR and the CSSR, and it was the main style of propaganda - educating, directing and persuading people of the righteousness of the path taken by the communist party (Fidelius, op.cit.). As Chloupek (1993:117) asserts: a publicist must be *uvědomělý* i.e. he has to possess class or political consciousness. A slightly different definition is offered by Osvaldová (Osvaldová et al., 2001:17) where publicist style is described as an analytical and evaluative approach of journalists to facts⁸². This understanding apparently arrived in the Czech press in the 19th century (ibid.).

⁸¹ For instance, the expression *chain reaction* was originally a very specific term in nuclear science. Now it is used as a metaphoric expression for a variety of non-scientific events.

⁸² Chloupek’s article was published in 1993 but is a translation of a text from the late 1980s. Osvaldová’s text came out in 2001 and she is linking it with a much earlier period, stripping the word of the potentially negative overtones it acquired during the socialist era.

Chloupek (1993:112-3) recognises four basic styles: colloquial and technical, which he sees as fundamental, and fiction style and publicist style, which draw on the first two. The publicist style is a heterogeneous style fulfilling 'informatory' and 'propagatory' functions (ibid.:114-5).

One linguistic feature that Chloupek sees as typical of the publicist style is 'automation of the publicist text' (ibid.:116). He presumably uses the term as it was used by the members of the Prague school, i.e. the loss of awareness by users of the aesthetic possibilities of linguistic signs (Wales, s.v.:36) rather than clichéd language or possibly formulaic expressions. Whichever use he means it seems to contradict his later statement that a publicist is a literary creator (Chloupek, ibid.:116).

Figures of speech were very important in publicist writing, too. However, they were used for illustration rather than aesthetic effect, 'to graphically round-off an image' (ibid.:117). If used excessively they could turn into empty phrases, as was the case in the 1950s while in the 1980s their symbolic nature decreased (ibid.:118). Here Chloupek presumably means that they turned into stock metaphors (Newmark, 1988). Figures of speech tended to draw on a variety of specific fields, for example sport, the construction industry and the military. No distinction was made in the article between the different figures of speech; examples offered show metaphors, metonymy and personification.

Chloupek comments of several other features: one of them was inverted commas, useful for drawing readers' attention to particular expressions (ibid.:123-4). He believed that the publicist style could not use purely standard language because it had to influence readers' reason and emotion since 'behind every publicist utterance there lies more or less distinctly a political, social and generally instructional message' (ibid.:122). Another feature is offering general rather than specific information. There is also imaginative use of proverbs and the use of clichés. The latter apparently should not be viewed with contempt if they were used in recurring situations (ibid.:120). Using quotations allowed authors to remind readers of generally accepted views or popular wisdom, to relate opinions

of well known figures⁸³ and so gain support for their own claim (Čechová et al., 1997:188-9). Publicists used statements by politicians, but also quoted the classics and in a socialist country the classics of Marxism. This 'intensifie[d] the immediate didactic function of publicist writing' (Chloupek, *ibid.*:122).

If the language created by a publicist was effective, it was imitated by colleagues and the public at large. In this way newspapers could influence not just opinions but language itself. As Chloupek (1993:117) put it 'publicist communication moulds us not only from a political viewpoint but also from the point of view of language'. A similar sentiment was expressed by Valdrová (1997:90) when discussing gender in language: 'Language of the press (and of television and radio) has normative power for the language and thinking of readers and listeners'.

3.4 Russian / post-Soviet / Czech studies of the language of newspapers

Russian linguists as linguists elsewhere use a derth of terms. There is literary language, standard language, or not standard language for this there are at least three terms: *nestandardnyi*, *non-standardnyi* or *substandardnyi*. This includes *razgovornyi iazyk* ('colloquial', but also 'spoken' or 'informal') and *prostorechie* ('colloquial' or 'popular'), *zhargon*⁸⁴ (jargon), *sleng* (slang), *argo* (argot), vulgarisms, dialects and in fact anything that is not considered a part of the literary language and is described as inappropriate, scabrous, indecent or beyond the pale – to offer just a few labels. The terms can in some cases be interchangeable, in others they are seen as separate categories. *Ne- or non-standardnyi* sometimes includes *zhargon* and popular or colloquial speech but not dialects, which are then seen as substandard (Zemtsova 1994). Other writers put all of these into the substandard category.

⁸³ Cf 'accessed voices' (Bignell 1997:92)

⁸⁴ The Russian word *zhargon* is defined as a private language of specific sub-groups (musicians, young people or criminals) or as a substandard layer of language (Dunn 1999b:19). It can also include improper or bad language, vulgarisms, swear words, obscene and abusive lexis – in short all the words and phrases that are *netsenzurnye*, or unacceptable to the censors (Mokiienko 1994 and 1999).

Several studies have appeared in recent years which examine the changes in vocabulary, morphology and style that are taking place in Russian language today. Researchers have noted that new words were often created or existing words were endowed with new meanings and that newspapers printed, and so disseminated them. Therefore the language of newspapers has been studied because of its tendency to react swiftly to language changes.

A number of processes have been noted, among them liberalization of language, including external (foreign) and internal borrowings (domestic non/sub-standard lexis), activation and passivisation of lexical items, re-orientation (changes in evaluation and changes of meaning), neologisms (univerbisation or blends), use of different figures of speech, intertextuality etc..

Kostomarov (1994) believed that the most general characteristic of contemporary language was its liberalization (which he called *all-is-permitted-ness*). The disappearance of the strict differentiation between standard and substandard language drew parallels with the situation in the first quarter of the 20th century (e.g. Bykov, 1994; Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade, 1999). Many changes were dictated by fashion trends (for example the use of foreign words, what Dunn (1999a:4) called westernization of Russian), but also by efforts to leave behind everything connected with the Soviet past. Mokiienko (1999:31) also claimed that the explosion of linguistic changes was a reaction to the official Soviet language policy⁸⁵. Newspapers aimed at young people, intentionally used rough, non- and sub-standard Russian which they saw as a realistic reflection of the language in use and as a means of broadening the base of their readers (Mokiienko, *ibid.*).

A very productive and quick way of enriching a language is by borrowing foreign words. There have been many borrowings, both internal (from *zhargon*, dialect or popular speech) and external sources, mostly from contemporary American English. The use of foreign linguistic patterns was penetrating even into syntax⁸⁶,

⁸⁵ Mass culture with its colloquialisms, eroticisms, even vulgarisms was finding its way into the media

⁸⁶ e.g. *ostavaiets' s nami* – 'stay with us' or *mirovye novosti* as world news rather than *mezhdunarodnye izvestiia* etc.

(Kostomarov, 1994:37). Many existing Russified French borrowings have been replaced by English words and phrases that have come from the world of the cinema (Richa, 1997).

The distinction between foreign words and borrowings is not always clear. Ferm (1994:141; Pyykkö, 1995) classified foreign words that were in Russian in 1985 and appeared in the dictionaries in 1991 as borrowings, words that were not there, as foreign words.

Similar approach was taken with neologism (Ferm, 1994:141). Mokiienko (1999) produced a list of categories, which generated neologisms, one of which was 'words of foreign origin'. His division was based on "the lexicographical practices of N. Z. Kotelova's group where new is defined as anything not previously included in the standard dictionaries" (op.cit.:75).

Pyykkö (1995:105) adds other criteria. Borrowings are words that have already become assimilated i.e. they are written in the Cyrillic alphabet, can decline or conjugate as native words and can create derivatives with affixes, or join other words to form compounds (op.cit.:105). However, even so assimilated, these words are still very unfamiliar to the majority of the population and are seen as foreign words⁸⁷.

Foreign words that retain their foreign spelling and/or alphabet have been called *interspersions* or *sprinklings* by Pyykkö (ibid.:105) while Mustonen (1997) uses the term *incrustations*. Pyykkö separates international words of predominantly Latin origin such as *modus vivendi* from more recent acquisitions which may fill a gap in Russian (e.g. special technical terms or words without evaluative bias), or can be used as a means of play. Their purpose is to alert or attract the reader. In some cases their use is simply a matter of fashion (Pyykkö, ibid.:108 ff).

According to Pyykkö (ibid.:115) there is a negative side to the usage of foreign words, especially incrustations. It divides people into *us* and *them*. *Us* who know the elite words and use the articles they denote, and *them* who don't know such

⁸⁷ Pyykkö (1995:105) also speaks of exotisms, barbarisms and foreign interspersions or sprinklings. There is some confusion in her definitions.

words and probably cannot afford to acquire the articles in question. However, it is one way in which, over a period of time, new words with (mostly positive) connotations can enter the language.

Internal borrowings come from other, usually non/sub-standard layers of language. Bykov (1994) concentrates on *zhargon*. He divides its vocabulary into three subgroups: lexis that retains its meaning at different levels of language, lexis which changes when used at a different level and lexis that only exists at the one level (op.cit.:89). *Zhargon* words, Dunn (1999b:20) notes, are often found in contexts that have nothing to do with the lives of the groups who created and used them. They are learnt and assimilated quickly, but they also undergo a broadening and softening of their original meaning, for example *bespredel*, *krutoi*, *tusovka*⁸⁸ and many others. Several other researchers mention vulgarisms as a prominent trend together with *zhargon* and the language of the criminal world. Their popularity, Mokiienko (ibid.:82) assumes, is the result of aggressive tendencies in language and behaviour.

In her presentation in London in 1999, Ryasanova-Clarke offered her views on the tabloidisation of the Russian press, especially when writing up criminal stories. The institutional discourse was still in use, but she noted several changes. The informal, even colloquial language was becoming more evident, which previously was not possible. There was a considerable use of stereotypes (this feature was not new, but the stereotypes were different). Many of the articles conveyed a sense of fatalism, a complete departure from the Soviet era. Similarly, entertainment value was expected from the press of the 1990s, and gruesome details were often provided to that end.

A major English study of Russian language was undertaken by Ryasanova-Clark and Wade (1999). The authors reviewed language developments from 1917 to the late 1990s. Considerable space was dedicated to vocabulary changes. The language corpus, it was noted, experienced significant instability, words moving from the periphery to the centre and vice versa. In the authors' opinion, a reassessment of values by society resulted in a similar reassessment of lexis. It

⁸⁸ Meaning: disorder or bedlam; tough and hard; a get-together, a gathering, originally negative.

was felt necessary to free words from their ideological straightjackets and to return to their real meanings. Many native words received a new lease of life, sometimes through metaphorisation (ibid.:67ff). The same process of reassessment led to the discarding of sovietisms that had outlived their usefulness.

Re-assessment or, activation and passivisation of some layers of Russian vocabulary was studied by Ferm (1994). Some Sovietisms disappeared altogether (e.g. *страда* *strada* meaning 'hard work at harvest time') - what Dunn (1999a:4) called de-sovietisation - others were unchanged and used still, but rarely. On the other hand, a number of pre-revolutionary words returned to active use (Ferm, op.cit.:25; Dunn, 1999a:15). Often these were words from the political or banking sphere or morally ethical or spiritual words. Mokiienko (1999) describes the process as resurrection of words together with (usually) their re-evaluation. These changes occurred due to the changes in ideological values, which also influenced changes in connotations. The term 'communist' – very positive during the Soviet era – turned neutral or even negative, while 'pluralism' underwent the opposite change (Ferm, op.cit.:35). Words that were previously used to describe foreign situations, generally with a negative evaluation, were during and after perestroika applied to Russian ones and became neutral or even positive. This typically applied to words related to the economy and administrative sphere (Ferm ibid.:21). Words from the religious or spiritual realm never lost their positive evaluation in private speech, only in the public discourse (ibid.:34). Some lexis disappeared because the institutions or events it described became obsolete (ibid.:35; Kostomarov, 1994).

Ferm also noted that the evaluative element was not fixed. It often varied depending on the allegiance of the newspaper (op.cit.:23). There was a struggle between expressiveness and informativeness and at the time of writing Ferm noted that the expressiveness was becoming more dominant and the number of pejorative words was on the increase (including colloquial, vulgar and even formerly taboo vocabulary). She explained this usage as an attempt to avoid clichés and to create a livelier style of writing (op.cit.:101).

Irony was noted as another popular evaluative element. Formerly positive Soviet terms were often used ironically (Ferm, *ibid.*:23; Dunn, 1999:6; Ryazanova-Clarke, 1999).

Another process Ferm noted, was *univerbisation*, also known as *blends*, the formation of a new word from two separate words or an entire phrase by contraction, to achieve language economy (*kreditnaia kartochka* became *kreditka* ‘credit card’) (*op.cit.*:53; also 1999). Although generally non-standard, such words can be absorbed into the standard language.

Language play became more frequent in the 1990s. Kostomarov believed that background knowledge was important more than ever for the reader to be able to understand what the news was about, as journalists had used various catch phrases. Playing with words became common, but it was not for any particular purposes, but simply to play. This might be a reaction to the supercorrect speech, and the linguistic and cultural seemliness predominant in the Soviet era (Kostomarov, *ibid.*:36; Dunn 1999b:23).

Norman (1999) believes that this playfulness is due to the rapid and irregular language development, but also to a growing tendency to revitalise ready-made phrases (cf. Kostomarov, 1994). He gives one somewhat unusual but certainly plausible reason, namely that people, who are powerless to change their living reality change their language as it is the only sphere under their control (Norman, *op.cit.*:107). The language games that people indulge in, so he says, include innuendos, invented words, unconventional usage, occasionalisms and portmanteau words⁸⁹ and puns. Vakurov (1994) concurred, stating that puns were used increasingly, especially in the language of the press. Another purpose of the language joke or word play is to amaze or make people laugh (Norman, *ibid.*) However, many of these playful slogans have become symbols of the new Russian situation, Richa believes (1997).

⁸⁹ E.g. *khreshchoba* (*trushchoba* meaning a slum, under Khrushchev a lot of cheap blocks of flats were built) or *katastroika* (from catastrophe and perestroika).

Metaphors, especially political ones have become quite trendy, not least because they can be used to express evaluation. There are different ways of categorizing them⁹⁰. Ferm (1999) has chosen just two – conventional metaphors that are in common use, and creative or new ones.

Richa (1997) concentrated on collocations, stock phrases and phraseologisms, He noted an influx of phraseological units from *zhargon* into the language of the newspapers and reasoned it was to create humorous, satirical or even ironic affect. (op.cit.:13).

The naming and addressing of people is as important a part of lexis as is the naming of places, positions and organizations. Many of the old forms and names of places were restored, replacing the titles and names of the Soviet era. Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999:85) believe that similar renaming has taken place in Russia on at least two other previous occasions, in both cases it accompanied major upheavals in society, the first during the reign of Peter the First and the second after the October revolution in 1917.

A rather different attitude was noticed by Dunn (1996) in his article on changes in Russian political language. He analysed names of the parties in the 1995 elections and compared them to those in existence in 1993. He noted that there was a tendency to move away from western patterns of nomenclature to slogan-like names as well as the use of acronyms.

Abbreviations and acronyms form another area of enriching the Russian vocabulary. They are generally used to replace long names of organisations and institutions (condensation of meaning, Klushina, 2000) but can also be used in a playful way, as Popov (1996:71) illustrates in his article. He comments on the frequency in newspapers of both acronyms and wordplay associated with them, and describes it as 'significant'.

Specific language fields drew attention of several authors. In a short study on the terminology of Russian ultranationalism and anti-Semitism Moskovich (1999)

⁹⁰ Newmark (1988) has six categories

traces the linguistic sources of these two doctrines. Some terminology (nationalist and anti-Semitic) has been resurrected from the pre-revolutionary times generated by the state as well as the Russian Orthodox Christian antisemitism, other is of Nazi origins, translated into Russian and distributed in the USSR during WWII. Much of this latter lexis combines the abuse of communists and Jews. Two additional sources are the Soviet propaganda of the 1970s and foreign ideologies of neo-fascism and anti-Semitism, German and American in particular. Many new terms have apparently appeared in the period between 1985-1995. This he sees as the reverse side of a free press.

Another language field that has undergone re-evaluation is the language of religion. Mokiienko (op.cit.) noted that there were about 800 words belonging to biblical language, some came directly from Old Church Slavonic, others are international Europeanisms. Litvinenko (1991) also commented on the use of biblical words and phrases. He believed that they added colour and accuracy together with providing vivid imagery and giving rise to complex emotional associations.

A debate has been going on in Russian society about the state of Russian. What is worrying linguists and in particular non-linguists is the fact that various layers of language are out of balance. This anxiety together with too fast a change has given voice to the question whether the language culture is disappearing. Mokiienko is of the opinion that though a natural process, it is more rapid than expected. He believes that some of the trends can be linked to the dissident writings of the 1970s and 1980s⁹¹. Interestingly Zemtsova (1994:98) also mentioned that interest in *zhargon* was seen as one of the manifestations of being a dissident.

Mokiienko (op.cit.:74) believes that with the disappearance of tight boundaries of a rigorous purism, Russian language is becoming more democratic, dynamic and cosmopolitan. In Kostomarov's (1994) view, though the language was undergoing accelerated development, the changes are not destructive to it.

⁹¹ In an essay on the writings of Vladimir Sorokin Uffelman (2006:101) argues that Sorokin belongs to a group of writers who began to shake Soviet "humanistic" norms during the 1980s thus anticipating the later developments. He describes this as 'planting the *flowers of evil*' (ibid.).

Unfortunately, the worry over the state of the Russian language has grown considerably in the first years of the new century and a number of measures have been put in place to improve its quality. Gorham (2006) notes the rise of language defenders whom he calls the purists. These groups mostly made of dilettantes and non-linguists are gaining ground and linking substandard language use in formal and semi-formal situations with negative social phenomena such as prostitution and robberies, but also with the presence of foreigners. They have gained not only the ear but also the financial support of the state and at present there are many radio, television and internet programmes as well as publications telling their listeners and readers how to speak and write. There are even programmes where lapses in language of politicians and other well-known people are aired and commented upon (ibid.:29-30).

Similar trends have been noted in Czech. Studying the language in a more recent period, Daneš (ibid.:18) notes the invasion of anglicisms, which has been seen as a threat. He bemoans the fact that the younger generation does not really care about their mother tongue and speaks of 'dekultivace' (decultivation, perhaps a lack of caring) and 'proměna hierarchie hodnot' (a change in the hierarchy of values). In addition the penetration of words from German as well as French can be seen in the language of the newspapers which, in Osvaldova's (2004b:19) view is due to the influence of the original (foreign) texts.

Concerning the quality of language (literary or not) used in the printed media Osvaldová (2004b:15) believes that being exposed for decades to the specific publicist style of press language now leads to the suppression of literariness. The use of the substandard Czech is also noted by Rechziegel (2003:154-5) for the same reasons she believes: freedom to express one's own thoughts in the way the individual wishes. Šebesta (2001:108-9) on the other hand, notes the need for standard Czech as one of the major requirements of accessibility of news text⁹², due to its mass character and indirect contact of author and receptors. He believes that the use of abbreviations, specialised terminology, foreign words and

⁹² He distinguishes between informative and publicist texts, however, and his advice cited above concerns primarily informative texts.

neologisms might limit comprehension. One other characteristic which can aid in the understanding of the text is, in his view, simplicity of expression (ibid.:121).

It is not just the language in the newspapers that is changing; there are changes also in the Czech terminology of journalism - that is the belief of Osvaldová (2004b:11) who sees it as the result of introducing English labels. Šebesta (1997) critically examines terminology of the mass media. He identifies two main terms - *publicistický* and *novinářský* or *zpravodajský* style (publicist and journalistic or reporting). The main features of the former type is its affective⁹³ (persuasive or influencing) function, of the latter its objective informative function (Ibid.:47; Osvaldová, 2001:14 and 21 ff)).

Discussing formal and informal Czech is not easy as there is a great deal of “terminological disunity” (Grygar-Rechziegel, 1990:10). Some researchers even speak of diglossia⁹⁴ or quasi-diglossia (e.g. L.R. Micklesen, F.Čermák in Eckert, 1993:6). There is *spisovná*, also referred to by some authors (e.g. Osvaldová, 2004b, Sgall, 2000) as *literární čeština* (usually translated as standard or literary Czech). A distinction is made between *spisovná psaná* [standard written] and *spisovná hovorová čeština* [standard spoken Czech] (e.g. Rechziegel, 2003). To confuse things further there is *obecná čeština* (common or colloquial Czech), slang and argot. Such a split between the norm, or standard language used in formal writing, and commonly used spoken language does not exist in Russian or in English.

Bohemists, whether they work in the country or abroad, agree that all Czech speakers understand without any difficulty and with no necessary training both/all standard and common Czech and that all speakers use both/all types irrespective of their education or status. (Kraus, 1993:45; Sgall and Hronek, 1993:51). Thus standard spoken Czech is expected in formal situations, e.g. political oratory, the media, because standard Czech is seen as carrying symbolic and representative functions (Kraus, ibid.:44), and common Czech in intimate situations.

⁹³ Compare with *publitsistika*, chapter 3

⁹⁴ The term means the existence of two language varieties within one language (or two languages within the same linguistic community), each possessing its own (higher or lower) sociolinguistic status (Rechziegel, 2003:153)

In their volume on Czech styles (Čechová et al., 1997) a group of authors examined different aspects of Czech. Regarding the dichotomy between different spoken varieties (*veřejná mluva versus intimní mluva*, public vs. private speech) they remark that language used for public purposes matters to society as a whole and so, in favourable conditions, becomes an object of institutional care (Ibid:15-6). However, a preference for *antioficiozní* (anti-official) usage has been noted in a more recent period (early 1990s) in interviews, reports from work places etc.. It would appear that the prestige of the official language, especially its spoken form, is viewed by a large proportion of the population as *nelidovost* (lack of commonness), an attempt to distance the user from others (ibid.:19).

The standard language is typical for its formulaic features, especially notable in the media. The language of the media, however, can use many elements: intimacy in order to influence the readers/listeners, the sense of belonging, professional jargon, even slang or dialect together with appropriate selection of terms, imagery and respect for public consciousness (Čechová et al., ibid.:16-17). Common Czech is also found more frequently in the contemporary press and there are other features such as the use of diminutives and affective expressions (Osvaldová, 2004b:19; Čechová et al., ibid.:177).

The Czech language has many linguistic resources - home-grown, calqued and borrowed. Some of them were banned from the newspapers during the socialist period but are now finding their way in as standard Czech absorbs words from other language layers such as slang, professional jargon and on occasion dialects, simplifies compound words - univerbisation (panelový dům- panelák) or creates multiverbisations (rodiče – rodičovská veřejnost) typical for administrative and journalistic language. Abbreviations are used for reasons of language economy but their overuse can hinder comprehension (Čechová et al., ibid.:115).

Many shifts in classification of vocabulary have been noted, for example expressions actively used in the 1980s have become obsolete (passivisation of vocabulary), there have been changes of expressiveness (from expressive to neutral), and expressions from an earlier time (pre-WWII for example) which were replaced during the socialist period, have been retrieved to again name a

restored position, situation or object (activation of vocabulary; see also Daneš, 1997). The authors also speak of journalisms (expressions typical for journalistic style) and bookisms, or bookish expressions (Čechová et al., *ibid.*:123ff).

One of the typical features of the journalistic style is its ephemeral character and the speed with which it has to be produced. This can lead to automation, stereotypical or formulaic writing and usage of clichés. Šebesta (2001:120) sees some merit in automated expressions, because they make decoding of the message easier for the readers. An accompanying feature is the breaking of models and clichés to create novelty. For all of this the neutral literary language is the norm. (Čechová et al., *ibid.*:181ff). To some extent language use also depends on the type of material. Basic informational text is expected to be:

‘neutral, stating, linear, impersonal, uses ‘he’ form and in the newspapers is mostly in the past tense’ (Osvaldová et al., 2001:25).

Metaphors are seen as useful devices because they can aid understanding (Bugárová 1994:127). Generally, figures of speech (metaphors, metonymy, personification and synecdoche) are very important in the language of the media not only for their informative qualities but also for their ability to attract readers’ attention and provide liveliness, urgency and emotions as well as the author’s evaluation that gives the message a greater impact. Unlike literary figures of speech, journalistic ones tend to be simpler and easy to decode. Personification is apparently the most frequent of all of them (Čechová et al., *ibid.*:182).

Because the media’s task is to provide topical information it also reflects the language of the period disseminating fashionable words and phrases and borrowings. Frequent use of evaluative adjectives with certain nouns gives rise to clichés. Journalistic texts are said to include folk sayings and colloquial idioms. Expressions from other discourses have been found in the media texts, too⁹⁵. More recently playfulness with fixed expressions etc. has been occurring, where the phrases are imaginatively reworked, topicalised and so intensified (Čechová et al., *ibid.*:183ff). To attract readers, journalists increasingly use erotetic, exclamative and imperative sentences (Osvaldová 2004b:19).

⁹⁵ For example sporting expressions in political articles, or literary and even biblical expressions, though some of these may not be well understood by the reading public.

The realisation that newspapers are goods has led to changes in the presentation of news. News is becoming personalised (Osvaldová 2004b:14). This has repercussions for presenting men and women in the press and forming opinions about their contribution to society as well as the general perception of them.

One of the earliest Czech texts dealing with gender in the Czech language appeared in 1997. It stated that following the changes that Czech society experienced in the preceding decade women wished to be accepted in formerly dominant male roles (Valdrová, 1997:88). This should help make women visible in the language, too. The author proposed two ways of making this possible in most texts: either using both masculine and feminine forms of the noun (student/ka) or use impersonal forms (studující). The latter forms can be successfully fitted into the past tense of verb paradigms.

Like Russian, Czech is a language with grammatical gender (i.e. most nouns are marked overtly for gender⁹⁶, including surnames, e.g., Havel, Novák, Lánský are examples of masculine surnames and Havlová, Nováková and Lánská are the feminine forms.) During the socialist period foreign surnames of women were similarly adapted, thus Mrs Thatcher became paní Thatcherová. In recent times a debate has been taking place whether this practice should continue or be abandoned. In his article Šebesta (2001:112) briefly discusses the reasons for retaining the practice despite the new regulations allowing the retention of foreign feminine surnames in their original form. He argues that the comparatively free Czech word order would lead to ambiguity because unconverted surnames cannot be declined. In the sentence *Thacher pozvala Sayers* [T. invited S.] Thatcher can be either a subject or an object. This ambiguity is absent if the surnames are marked for gender, e.g. *Thacherová pozvala Sayersovou*, or *Thacherovou pozvala Sayersová*. The subject (underlined) is clear in both the sentences. Šebesta's other reason is that Czech readers expect female surnames to be marked for gender, and

⁹⁶ Unlike English which uses a pronominal gender system; this is essentially a semantic system where only the pronouns are marked for gender.

the absence of this would make them assume that the person is a male. This could lead to embarrassing situations or even serious misunderstandings⁹⁷.

Valdrová (1997) believes that the mass media are not interested in providing equality for women and as examples she offers job advertisements where occupational labels are in the masculine form, and film, television and radio credits in which occupations are also given in the masculine form. Some women themselves use the masculine label for their occupation. Valdrová (ibid.:90) hazards a guess that this is because they are trying to fit into the male world or perhaps they think that the converted feminine form is less economical or less beautiful. In many cases the wording used was that of masculine nominative plural whether the subjects were men or women, and so women became or remained invisible. By not having feminine forms of occupational labels, party membership etc. implies that women do not participate in the life of society.

3.5 Newspaper headlines

Having looked at the language of newspapers and the print media generally we now transfer our attention to the language of headlines. The power of headlines has been noted in the Introduction, here their function is examined in more detail and a brief explanation is provided of headline labelling.

As a general summary, and to distinguish headlines from other types of headings it is proposed to define headlines as follows: Headlines are short pieces of text (usually but not always the article content summary) which vary in length from single words to complex sentences, and which are set off from the rest of the text by different typographies. They are semi-independent of the text but at the same time they are closely related to it. Their domain is that of the media.

In the West headlines are rarely written by the journalist who wrote the story. It is usually the task of the subeditor who strives to get and to hold readers' attention (Bell, 1991:40-1). Textbooks are available for budding headline writers. Their advice is to use simple, immediate everyday language (e.g. Hodgson, 1993:137-

⁹⁷ Personal communication – a worker at the press agency was put in an awkward situation when a foreign visitor turned out to be a woman.

8). The situation is probably similar in Russia even though researchers generally assume that journalists do their own headlines (e.g. Kulakov, 1982:33). The task is at times seen as a 'torturous one' and whole books are devoted to the discussion of this undertaking (Bliskonskii, 1977).

3.5.1 Headline labelling

Much confusion exists in the terminology as to types, forms and functions of headlines. Some authors (Muzykant, 1992; Breiev, 1993), when describing headlines, confuse their type with their form or appearance, that is headline typography, and with their function, that is what purpose they serve. There is also considerable variation in terminology among Russian researchers, who present their own sets of terms, often without clear definitions. (Khazagerov, 1984). Because of this "terminological disunity" in Russian texts and also because this is a very minor aspect of the study, it was felt to be sufficient to offer explanations following the usage of the terms in Britain. A very brief summary of the main terms is given below.

In British journalistic practice a number of terms is used to describe the different types of headlines. Apart from the main headline there are subheads - usually a single bold word breaking up a longer column of text, but also a line below the main headline which offers additional information but which is generally written in a smaller font; straplines serve a similar purpose but are placed above the main headline; by-lines provide the name of the author of the article; jump heads lead to a continuation of the article on a different page; standing head is the name of a regular rubric or column and rocket head is a boldly printed first word of the story. Various other terms are used in different publications (Mardh, 1980; Fruchey, 1989; Bell, 1991; Hodgson, 1993). Generally, only the first three terms have been used in the study.

Separate terminology exists also for headline typography: there are news-style headlines and free headlines - although some writers use the terms conventional

and streamlined (Mardh, 1980:33). There are several types of the news-style or conventional headlines, such as strict lines (the headline is the same length as the width of the article), crosslines, inverted pyramids, and drop lines where the headline runs across two or three lines and each line is indented further to the right, e.g. a headline in *Ogonek* No.6 for February 1989:

VYSHE,
VYSHE,
VYSHE!⁹⁸

The free or streamlined headlines are usually justified on the left but unjustified on the right to suggest informality to the reader; they rarely exceed three lines (Mardh, 1980:35).

3.5.2 Functions of headlines

Functions of headlines can be viewed in two different ways: in relation to the newspaper workers, and in relation to the readers. These functions sometimes overlap.

Headlines are important in the routines of news production, helping journalists to understand and memorize the information before they pass it to the readers. Editors who often devise the headlines look for the best summary for a news report but also take into account lexical means which might help to provide a catchy title (Garst and Bernstaein, 1982)

The language of the headline plays just as important a role as its typography. According to *Stylistika* authors (Čechová et al., 1997:190) there are two types of headlines: on the one hand there are headlines that provide the briefest possible summary with the maximum amount of information, on the other hand there are headlines which include only partial information but strive to arouse readers' interest in the article itself rather than just the title. Both types increasingly use complete and often complex sentences (ibid.).

⁹⁸ The word *vyshe* means 'higher' and refers in this headline to a story about a ballet dancer.

Another opinion on headline function is offered by Osvaldová (2004b:13). The influx of information and a need to capture as many readers as possible has in recent years resulted in ever shorter news items. This need for brevity attaches a great importance to the visual as well as the linguistic aspects of the headline, both in its task as an accompaniment of the main text and as a bearer of independent information. It may be that since readers tend to read headlines and ignore the article unless of a specific interest to them, the articles have become shorter and the headlines longer.

Attracting interest, as noted earlier, is an important task of a headline, bringing the readers' attention to the story in particular and to the newspaper or magazine/journal as a whole. Editors use a variety of means to that end – the placing of the headline on the page⁹⁹ and its appearance (size, colour, font). This can convey the relative importance and impact of the story in relation to other stories in the newspaper (Laine, 1982:3; Terenteva 1990:17). Osvaldová (Osvaldová et al., 2001:31) names these functions orientational, graphic and aesthetic (also Bartošek, 1997:61). For example, a bigger, bolder or differently coloured headline signals more important information and helps readers decide which item is viewed as the more vital.

The use of language is naturally a very valuable resource in creating a headline that captures readers' eye and piques their curiosity. Lazareva (1989:69-70) speaks about the naming function of headlines and thus their similarity with other markers (e.g. names of ships etc.) although there is a significant difference; Headlines are linked with texts (articles, stories) which they may summarise or to which they provide some other overt or covert connection.

Some headlines are viewed as verbal shorthand, summarizing the content of the news item; they convey information in a concise form. Laine (1982:9, 22) maintains that in a sense a headline is a highly concentrated abbreviated abstract the content of which is further developed in the article. It highlights what is

⁹⁹ Lazareva calls this graphically separating function (graficheski vydelitel'naia funktsiia) (1989, :69)

perceived by the news workers as the most important or interesting element of the story (Bell, 1991:186; Terenteva, 1990:17). Some researchers have termed this function communicative (Laine, 1982:8), others use the term informative (Kulakov, 1982:22; Annenkov, 1995; Osvaldová et al., 2001:31)

Another function singled out by Russian researchers (Lazareva, 1989, *ibid.*:70; Terenteva, 1993; Khazagerov, 1984)), is labelled as the 'advertising' [*reklamnaia*] function. Such headlines strive to engage readers' emotion - curiosity, surprise etc. – and so trigger their psychological mood making them turn their attention to the publication. Two main factors contribute to this affect – freshness of the headline or its intriguing effect.

Headlines are generally read first and often are the only part of the story that is read (Lazareva, 1989:3; van Dijk, 1991:50). In that way, they perform a cognitive function enabling readers to decide whether the story is of interest to them or not. Van Dijk has found that the information expressed in headlines is used strategically by the reader during the process of understanding the story. It serves as an overall organizing principle for the representation of the news event in the memory, a model of the situation, or as he termed it, a schema. It also activates relevant knowledge the reader needs in order to understand the news report (e.g. the word *riot* activates relevant general knowledge about riots). This helps the reader to construct the overall meaning, or the main topics of the rest of the text (van Dijk, 1991:73ff).

There can be ideological implications, too. Headlines offer certain interpretations or evaluations of events depending on the political allegiances of the publication, and in this way they can influence their readers, re-enforce the status quo or destabilise it. Because they offer a specific perspective, they may have a significant effect on the understanding process¹⁰⁰. Another way of influencing perception can be achieved by upgrading or elevating a less important topic or a relatively unimportant detail by placing it in the headline. This reduces the value

¹⁰⁰ For example, the actions of a group of insurgents will be generally interpreted differently if they are described as terrorists or as freedom fighters.

of the main topic, and the interpretation of reality by the reader is changed (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1991). Soviet and Russian researchers use the terms 'evaluative function', and 'appellative function' of the headline (Kulakov, 1982:21-22; Miroshnichenko, 1996:17, Laine, 1982:8; Lazareva, 1989:71). Laine defines the role very clearly: "The headline is the political face of the [...] newspaper. It is called upon to promote the best and to campaign for the progressive," (Laine, 1982:9). The use of these kinds of headlines is explained by the need for maximum generalisation and propagandist pressure by the press (Terenteva, 1990:9).

To summarise, the main functions of newspaper headlines which are achieved through language use are: cognitive, informative or communicative, persuasive and seeking readers' attention.

3.6 Language of headlines

Headlines, as a feature of media discourse studies, have been analysed over the years from various angles: grammatical structures and lexis, (e.g. Mardh, 1980; Semenova, 1992), semiotics (Bignell, 1997) ideological (Hartley, 1982), socio-linguistic and structural discourse analysis approach (Bell, 1991 and 1998; Fowler, 1991), cultural studies, (Allan, 1998) and socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 1991). Aspects and tools from different methods and disciplines, linguistics, sociology and politics, have been combined in recent years in order to get more accurate findings. There have been studies across languages e.g. Dutch and English, German and American English, German and Russian (van Dijk, T.A., 1991; Kniffka, 1980; Nasyrova, 1992). Most of the studies, however, are synchronic studies, looking at one particular aspect at one particular time, for a period of a few weeks only or looking at one particular element such as evaluative expressions in headlines (Terenteva L.V., 1990), or studying one aspect across the whole story, headline, lead and text (van Dijk, 1991). There is, to my knowledge, no systematic synchronic or diachronic study in English on Russian or Czech headlines¹⁰¹.

¹⁰¹Two articles were found on Russian headlines which are discussed below.

3.6.1 Headline studies in the West

One of the earliest studies of English headlines was by Strauman (1935) who traced the history of English headlines and looked at their grammatical structures. He developed a number of categories for this purpose, but as they form an individual system that is outside standard English grammar it is difficult to make any comparisons. He called the language of the headlines *block language*, a term later used by Halliday and Leech, with some modifications (Mardh, 1980:11-2).

An extensive study of the grammar and language of English headlines was published by Mardh¹⁰² (1980). In it Mardh examined the typology and grammatical structure of English headlines, using material from *The Times* and *The Daily Mirror*, and compared them with the core grammar of the English language. She believed that the language of headlines was subject to rules, and aimed to describe these. *Block language* and *economy grammar* were, she believed, a result of combining communicative effect and extreme brevity; another feature was the omission of low information value words. She also included sentence types in terms of verbal, nominal and adverbial structures. Other areas given attention were the functional headline types and complexity of headlines in terms of number of words (Mardh, *ibid.*:29).

More recently Morley (1998) concentrated on headline form and function. He noted a variety of features that seemed typical of modern-day headlines. Some were on a sociolinguistic level, e.g. personalisation of serious news, emotional register (especially in tabloids); others on a linguistic level, such as preference for short words, use of rhetorical devices and a tendency to play with words. Quotations were used quite often, albeit in a somewhat altered form. Various mechanisms for change were noted, such as substitution, abbreviation, insertion, rephrasing and relexicalisation (*op.cit.*:35).

Considerable attention was given to register, which Morley defined as "differences in linguistic style" (*ibid.*:36) and which consisted of *field*, *mode* and

¹⁰² There were several other studies of headlines, e.g. dissertations by Sobotka (1951) and Wachtler (1951) and Conon (1973) who studied Swedish papers, reviewed in Mardh (1980:17-8).

*tenor*¹⁰³. *Tenor*, he believed, was the aspect of register that had been discussed most frequently in relation to the newspaper context. This included the use of informal and colloquial language as well as emotional lexis. Another element which could influence register was the writer's attitude towards the story, what Morley called *focus* (ibid.:39). In essence this is the reflection of the author's position¹⁰⁴. Morley's terms *tenor* and *focus* come very close to the term *evaluative attitude* that is used by some Russian scholars (Solganik, 1981, Lazareva, 1989).

Morley was particularly interested in the grammar of headlines. His research has shown that contrary to expectations (e.g. Bolitho, 1985) most English headlines contain a verb (Morley, op.cit.:78), which is quite understandable, as action (usually expressed by a verb) attracts readers' attention more than a state (expressed by a noun). The present tense is most frequent, the past being reserved for reporting of past events. However, it also serves to separate the author or paper from the event (ibid.:90). Since most news stories describe past events, it would seem that the use of present serves tends to create a feeling of immediacy. Depending on the choice of lexis, action can be conveyed by a dynamic noun or nouns (ibid.:72).

Similarly to Mardh, Morley noted the tendency to omit words that did not contain essential information (such as articles and copulas) from the headline. A noun or noun phrase missing an article was called a 'label', for example 'Neighbours star Kylie Minogue' (Morley, ibid.:137). It could be argued that all headlines are in fact titles or captions as they name or label the story. Hodgson (1993:149) also speaks of label headlines (headlines without a verb or where the verb is incidental) but finds them generally unsuitable for hard news. Bell (1991:195-7) discussed this phenomenon, too, and called it 'titleness'. As he sees it, it provides news value and it is seen as a quasi-title. In Morley's view, such an assignation turns a simple description into a title and gives prestige (Morley, ibid.:139).

¹⁰³ Field - what is talked about, e.g. economics, football; mode - written or spoken language; tenor - the distinction between formality and informality, emotivity or neutrality, technical or non-technical language

¹⁰⁴ In a sporting match, supporters of the winning side will speak of a resounding victory, but supporters of the losing side of a disastrous outcome. Cf. freedom fighters and terrorists above.

Extended noun phrases (ENP) are typical for the English headline in particular. They are important summary devices. Morley explains their structure in considerable detail. They are the result of the tendency of the English language to link words together and give them what he calls "prior institutionalised status" (Morley, *ibid.*:126). Newspaper ENPs are developed over the life of the story, be it throughout one day or over several days when the story develops. So what looks rather convoluted and opaque is actually quite clear if one reads the article(s).

A number of smaller studies examined various aspects of English headline texts. Smith and Montgomery (1989) looked at sports headlines and in particular the notions of winning and losing. They distinguished different types of word order and a variety of language devices, e.g. metaphors, allusions etc.. The authors noted that verbs, both in active and passive modes, were used successfully despite the fact that they came from different fields of human life and they called such use "creative stretching of language" (*ibid.*:40). There was a strong preference for verbs of winning; verbs of losing were used in limited and specific situations only. Many verbs in the sample were only used once (*ibid.*:43-4). The authors established that verbs were selected to suit the excellence or otherwise of the win. "Writers may scale verbs by margin of victory" (*ibid.*:53). Metaphors were found to be used more often than puns, as verbs used in one domain were temporarily borrowed for use in another. The verbs were able to provide shades of meaning (from barely winning to thoroughly winning), which, the authors believe, enlarged their semantic domain. This enlargement could be temporary or permanent, in which case new metaphors created in this way could move permanently into general use (*ibid.*:55).

Alexander (1986) concentrates predominantly on wordplay. He separates wordplay devices into five categories, from homonymy to allusion (*ibid.*:166). Concerning puns he distinguishes between narrow puns which involve polysemy or near homonyms of a single word, and broad puns¹⁰⁵ which include play on words, allusions or distant formal similarities (*ibid.*:163). The use of metaphors in headlines is conscious. The wordplay devices can serve as amusement and to

¹⁰⁵ In Hockett's (1977) terms the former are poetic jokes and the latter prosaic jokes, whereas Leech (1969) calls puns generally a foregrounded lexical ambiguity (in Alexander 1986:163.)

capture readers' interest but also to undermine and show a cynical, ironic or contrary view of the matter reported. They can be used as ideological or political judgement (ibid.:174). However, others are more critical of the way news headlines have used – or misused - wordplay:

“News headlines have brought wordplay into disrepute by their crass application of it; too often the distorted one-dimensional summary of events, political or otherwise, contradicts the ambiguity signified by the punning title. Far from being vulgar or frivolous or both, wordplay is a complex literary device permitting a richer response to language” (Egan 1994).

Lindemann also studied the 'poetics of tabloid headlines' (1990:46). He contrasted the theoretical qualities of headlines (telegram-like, informative, non-redundant) with their real qualities, and although he found actual headlines short, they were often disinformative, puzzling and cryptic (ibid.:48). In order to attract attention, the headlines do need to be brief, even minimalistic, but they still have to "be capable of generating actual linguistic surfaces or macroframes" (ibid.:54-5). He also offers a list of several stylistic devices¹⁰⁶. All these elements serve to activate various types of knowledge and belief systems (ibid.:57).

The headline, Bell asserts (1991:186), is the newspaper's opportunity to put its own stamp onto a mass-produced article. He explains that the headline is the last of the story's sections (headline, lead, text) to be written and generally by the sub-editor who must take into account the layout of the page and the story's importance. As a 'stand-alone unit' a headline is an abstract of the story and it usually carries just one of its elements or topics, the one that is most striking. In that way headlines are more than just a summary of the story; they are also 'part of news rhetoric' (Bell, ibid.:189). Although the main event is the obvious choice, a secondary event or even a detail can be selected instead. Reasons for this can vary, for example a greater likelihood of attracting the reader's attention. An important feature of longer headlines is the embedding of previous episodes, so making the headline rich in content as well as offering links to previous events.

¹⁰⁶ E.g.:1. deconstruction of current idiomatic phrases – this can involve reversing commonplace metaphors, or a variety of allusions; 2. phonic or graphic minimal pairs (puns); 3. assonancies and use of news-speak monosyllabic lexis; and 4. meaningless phrases ('Van-death let-off fury' actually replaced a complex sentence. The van driver caused the death of somebody, he was let off and this caused fury (ibid.:51-3; 56).

Certain elements are absent from headlines; according to Bell, time place, attribution and evaluation (ibid.:189). This, however, is incorrect, as evaluation can be expressed in headlines very clearly. The very choice of lexis offers evaluation.

In his handbook on sub-editing, Hodgson (1993) emphasizes that writing headlines is not an easy task. Usually the sub-editor's job, but sometimes several people work on it. The important thing is to write in a simple and 'immediate' language but without over-simplification or distortion, i.e. clearly and for impact (ibid.:138). The sub-editor also has to take into account the importance of the headline and its position on the page (cf. Bell above), which will determine the number of words or letters that can be used. This explains the inclination of headline writers to go for short words (Hodgson, ibid.:163).

Headlines of hard news stories tend to be factual rather than emotive, they often make qualitative judgments, in an effort to connect with the reader (ibid.:147). It is different in soft news stories, features that can provide background, and opinions, (Bell, 1991:14) or human interest stories. Here subeditors can use wordplay of all sorts. Such heads are apparently more fun to write and to read, as long as there are not too many of them, as their overuse can lead to a seeming trivialization of the page (Hodgson, ibid.:148).

In *News Analysis* van Dijk (1988) deals mostly with the ideological implications found in headlines. He talks of 'embedded' information that is used to provide justification for the actions of the authorities. At times the wording is such that both positive and negative reading can be achieved. However, the consistent linking of the subject with negative qualities results in overwhelmingly negative messages passed onto the readers (op.cit.:229). Similar messages can be achieved syntactically. The actors tend to be mentioned primarily in passive roles. Even in subject positions they are seen as patients. On the few occasions that they are an agent, their role tends to be negative (ibid.:230) so reinforcing the negative message (cf. Kleinke, 2000, below).

In a later study van Dijk (1991) devotes considerable attention to the structure and function of headlines. The importance he assigns to the headlines can be clearly seen in the following lines:

“Headlines are not arbitrary parts or labels of news reports. On the contrary, they formulate the most crucial words of such reports. Their position, semantic role, and cognitive consequences are such that they literally cannot be overlooked. They express the major topic of the report, as the newspapers see it, and thereby at the same time summarize and evaluate a news event. In other words, they essentially define the situation. It is this definition that also plays a prominent role in the way the readers understand and memorize news.”
(van Dijk, 1991:69)

Van Dijk's studies of news texts are primarily sociological; he therefore does not engage in detailed linguistic study. However, many of his linguistic insights are thought-provoking. Important distinctions can be created with vocabulary, different connotations projecting very different images, and associations can be formed in readers' minds by the presence or absence of various descriptions (ibid.:64).

Lexical choice, syntax, ordering, etc. may be used to persuasively identify and convey the prevalent definition of a situation. Words related to mental illness and irrationality, political and ideological intolerance and oppression, and threatening animals convey very specific negative qualities (ibid.:214). This selection may vary with the text genre as well as with the opinions, the social situation, group membership or culture of the writer. The lexical style of headlines can be dramatic and aggressive (ibid.:69).

Van Dijk also comments on various rhetorical features. They may attract attention and so indirectly emphasise specific meaning. He found that metaphors and alliteration were mostly found in headlines with evaluative meanings and opinions and that they were often used for negative emphasis. Exaggeration tended to be semantic and he believes that it was used selectively to emphasise and dramatise negative events. Punctuation too was found to have ideological value. For example, inverted commas can show that the writer of the article does not agree with the attributed description. A greater value may be attached to surviving

punctuation in view of the fact that it seems to be used less frequently¹⁰⁷ (ibid.:217-220).

The naming of news /social actors is seen as important because lexical choices play an essential role in identifying them. Positive and negative feelings could be emphasised by vocabulary (van Dijk, 1991:211-4). Although van Dijk was analysing race/ethnicity, this is applicable to gender, too, and the visibility or its absence of women (see above, Valdrová, 1997, 2001).

An aspect of study discussed by Bignell (1997) is the way in which newspapers speak to their readers. Newspapers strive to pattern their discourse on their readers' own discursive idiom but since their readers are many and use varied idiom, the representation of it is in fact a coded discourse. Popular tabloids, according to Bignell (1997:93), use an orally based restricted set of vocabulary and sentence structures, while broadsheets use a more elaborate and complex set of codes. The former is intended to imply familiarity, camaraderie and entertainment value as opposed to the notions of authority, formality and seriousness that is promoted by the more complex language of the latter (ibid.:93).

The 'oral' code, imitating speech, employs features such as deliberate misspellings, contrastive stress indicated by either italics or by bold letters and features of spoken discourse; typical is the use of short or incomplete sentences, slang words, idioms and clichés as well as the use of first names and nicknames, contractions and modality, implying speakers' subjective judgement. Also noticeable is the use of words which constitute speech acts (questions, commands, accusations, demands).

News stories use a lot of personalisation. It is to show a category, for which purpose a variety of labels is used such as names, ages, job descriptions and gender roles. Individual identity is constructed as gendered. Individuals are always examples of some larger issues, which have ideological importance.

¹⁰⁷ Hodgson (1993) believes that the use of punctuation is diminishing.

(Bignell, *ibid.*:95-6). Personalisation (different groups or individuals) can be viewed in different terms. The groups may represent a minority and the state (van Dijk, 1988, 1991), men and women (in Kleinke's study, 2000), or individuals may be introduced as either providing information or offering an experience (Bell, 1991). The linguistic treatment of these groups and choice of topic with which they are associated is also very revealing, showing that newspapers tend to perpetuate stereotypes and certain ideological suppositions (Glasgow Media Group, 1980).

Kleinke (2000) found that men far outnumber women in headlines, except in crime and health or illness stories. Although in such circumstances the tendency was for women to be the victims. The 'speech' of men and women was related to different spheres (men were seen in their public or professional roles, women in the private sphere (*op.cit.*:74). When women were placed in the grammatical category of subject, they were generally engaged in negative activities. All in all Kleinke found that there was a considerable bias against women at a variety of levels starting with the headline prominence and ending with limited and generally less significant topics.

Several Russian scholars examined British and American headlines. They invariably noted the use of word-play and informatively sensational headlines in the tabloids and neutral language in the headlines of the broadsheets. Khalebskii (1991:5) believed, erroneously (*cp. Alexander, op.cit.*), that more educated readers did not require 'linguistic stimulation' (*doping*) (Khalebskii, *ibid.*:5).

Preobrazhenskaia (1993) examined the *Morning Star* headlines for phraseological units and wordplay but also for agitation and propaganda purposes (*ibid.*:11). She concluded that the correspondence between phrasal headline and the text depended on the type of phrasal unit.

We can summarise this section by saying that most Western scholars dealing with the language of headlines concentrate on sociolinguistic analysis and that they find the language exerting very strong influence in shaping readers' perception of the news.

3.6.2 Russian and Czech headlines – the pre – 1991 view

Kulakov (1982) believes that headlines reflect the historical time and show the author's position. Soviet headlines, he claims, show love of peace, high morality and rich spiritual world, and Soviet journalists aim to influence the reader by creating emotional, bright and unforgettable headlines with high level of information (ibid.:19-22). Party documents are seen of great help to journalists. Additionally, headlines can be inspired by literary works, lines from songs and proverbs and sayings (ibid.:70).

Lazareva (1989) examines a variety of aspects related to newspaper headlines. She talks of a twofold nature of headlines; a fairly independent linguistic structure as well as a part of a larger text to which it has specific links, and to which it is a key (op.cit.:3). She concentrates mainly on headline links to the following texts but she also discusses headline structure, what she calls 'architecture'. As one of the main aims of the headline is to inform readers about the theme of the story, one or more elements of that story are placed in the headline. Usually it is the main theme but in order to enhance the readers' interest, a less important element can be elevated. Sometimes this can serve as provision of background.

Quotations and the naming of actors are useful. Both mechanisms can attract attention and offer an evaluation, whether the headline is a full quote or a part of one, or the naming a simple description of a job or a name. Lazareva's reasoning is that such ploys introduce living people; for example *physicist* is seen as positively evaluative in the context of a particular story (ibid.:7). Here the Soviet practice of providing generally only positive stories would be important. Once an evaluation is introduced in the headline it provides a guide for the reader; it tells him or her how to read the story. However, in many cases, the full impact can be fully appreciated only after the reading of the story. It is suggested that readers might be keen to read such a story in anticipation of learning more.

Complex headlines tend to be more informative as they offer more links to the text. Lazareva further divides the former into nominative ones, which she likens to titles, and predicative ones. The predicative headlines tend to be more informative

and generally neutral, although they too can be expressive, if expressive lexis is used. The partially informative headlines are called '*punktirnye*'¹⁰⁸, they usually contain a reference to just one theme or idea in the story and tend to be elliptical (ibid.:15). However, they tend to attract readers more as they employ irony, polysemy and other elements. There are two more categories offered by Lazareva. The headlines can be linked to sub-text, in other words, readers understand the links independently of the story and finally, the headline can only be understood retrospectively, after the readers perused the article.

Expressiveness can be achieved by breaking customary norms of usage or composition; in fact anything that is unusual is likely to attract attention. *Topicality* (ibid.:34) can be achieved by any linguistic means, from morphology, lexicology and syntax to stylistics. Lazareva enumerates various devices for language play from metaphors to referring back to the headline in the lead.

The expressiveness of some headlines can be heightened by offering unexpected contrasts such as past and present, or fairy tale and reality, paradoxical situations, or phrasing the headline as a question. Sociolinguistic features work equally well. Anomalous situations ("The right to hunger", ibid.:52) give rise to surprise, curiosity and interest.

Khazagerov (1984) has concentrated on stylistic figures in headlines. He found that the most typical of figures was ellipsis and it was located in headlines with a general meaning of exhortation, motivation or appeal. In his sample he examined 29 types of elliptic headlines (ibid.:10), He believes that they demonstrate trust and solidarity with the reader. Headlines-gerunds also belong to this category: in his opinion, they are close to slogans and carry the notion of appeal.

Terenteva, (1991) examines headlines of selected publications over a period of five years. She recognizes three main functional-semantic types of headlines: informative, appealing/rousing and evaluative. In this work she concentrates on the evaluative type. She views the category of evaluation as the expression of the

¹⁰⁸ Single point headline

speaker's attitude to the object spoken about. She notes several different but generally used scales of evaluation, e.g. good-bad, innocent-guilty, and adds a scale specific to newspapers which she calls social evaluation. This classifies 'objects' by their usefulness or harm to the individual members of society. She asserts that 'absence-presence' of evaluation in a headline not only influences its informative function but also its appealing function. Another finding is that proper names provide the most informative but least productive evaluative headlines, mere 5% of the sample¹⁰⁹. They are, according to her, mostly used in sketches and profiles and are frequent in the leftist press. She explains their infrequent use by the need for maximum generalisation and propagandist pressure of the press. The vast majority of her evaluative headlines contain abstract words (72%), although the lexis is limited to a few words (ibid.:13).

Many nouns have acquired bright, positively evaluative expressiveness and so have been used in headlines, for example 'horizons' and 'steps' (Terenteva ibid.; cp. Solganik, 1981; Kulakov, 1982). Relationship words denoting family membership have retained both traditional and figurative meanings and are often used to describe relationships between socialist countries.

Some headlines are grammatically quite complex, but semantically simple. These headlines typically use imagery or idioms known to the readers and their evaluative power depends on prior knowledge (Terenteva, ibid.:16). Although more vivid and emotionally charged, these headlines are less informative because their function is different. It is not informative but rather evaluative, expressive and appealing.

Finally Terenteva describes an in-between type of headline where transformation is at play. In these cases a well-known idiom, for example, is partially changed, so that the readers can still relate to it, but the changed element clearly marks the object of evaluation, the headline thus provides vivid image as well as information. This type could be seen as allusive or displaying intertextuality.

¹⁰⁹ Whereas in informative headlines they are very frequent, however, no % was given (ibid. :9)

Bobunova (1992) examines headlines in the *Komsomol'skaia Pravda* for 1991. She notes how enjoyable it is to see the newspaper attracting readers' attention by using striking, prominent and intriguing headlines as their weapons. One could even talk 'about the art of the newspaper headline' (ibid.:58), she comments. One of the mechanisms found frequently is the renovation of idioms and set phrases as well as play on words using titles of books and films, slogans, and lines from songs and poems. Puns can enhance the expressiveness of such headlines (ibid.:59).

Discussions and descriptions of Czech headlines tended to be noted briefly in the various publications dealing with the language of the printed media. Dealing with headlines specifically, Macháčková (1985) studied their functions and features of their structure.

Although different types of articles would be expected to have specific types of headlines, in practice, she found, they are not genre-specific but combine informative, evaluative and other functions. Attracting attention is seen as the primary headline function, both by its content and its appearance. Persuasive function is seen as second in importance and it is typically expressed as infinitives or by adverbial expressions (ibid.:215). Informative function comes next, sometimes providing fairly full information, at other times merely the topic. The last important function that is identified is evaluation (ibid.:216). Macháčková talks of headline blocks, that is the combinations of the main headline with a strapline, and/or subhead. Following Bečka¹¹⁰ (1973) she says that the main headline provides an overall character of the text, the strapline offers evaluation and the subhead suggests the division of the body of the article. Although it is desirable that headlines are clear and exact, journalists may intentionally conceal some information in order to get the reader peruse the whole article. Macháčková believes that is acceptable in some circumstances.

The remainder of Macháčková's study is devoted to the structure of headlines: word order, presence and absence of lexical verbs, presence or absence of various

¹¹⁰ Bečka, J. V. (1973) *Jazyk a styl novin*. Praha.

other sentence elements (subject, object, adverb etc.), frequency of usage of different persons, tenses, active and passive forms, sentence forms, sentence complexity etc. Two types of questions are noted: *zjišťovací* (finding information) and *doplňovací* (providing some additional information, yet limiting the subject in some way). The first type always ends with a question mark, the second type may do but does not need to, in which case it can be seen as a subordinate sentence of an absent main sentence (ibid.:219).

In the final section of her study Macháčková dealt with headlines she called labels. These could be what Mardh called 'block' headlines, or they could be elliptical headlines. In the first case the missing element (e.g. the verb) could not be provided, in the second it could. She divided them into several types, by parts of speech.

3.6.3 Russian and Czech headlines – the post-1991 view

A short but useful review of the language changes in Russian headlines was provided by Danchenko¹¹¹ (1995). She noted that the ideological doctrines of the Soviet era had their specific means of expression, "words with broad abstract, generalised meaning, devoid of concrete sense, ...and fossilised lifeless language formulae" (ibid.:121-2). It became increasingly possible (from about 1986) to cover previously taboo topics in fresh, original forms of expression (ibid.:123). The goals of the Russian press changed and new turns of phrase were sought. The language of newspapers became enriched by extensive borrowing and by returning to the more traditional and cultured Russian. The desired novelty effect was achieved by offering varied means of expressions, and a less predictable, livelier, more expressive and more idiomatic language. (ibid.:124, 127). It is important to note that Russians are generally widely read. In Danchenko's words, the newspaper headlines are catering to a 'widely read native reader' (ibid.:128). Pyykkö (1995:119 ff) noted an increased use of incrustations in headlines, especially those aimed at young people and the Russian *nouveaux riches*. The purposes of this are varied, but predominantly it is a matter of prestige, fashion

¹¹¹ Danchenko and Pyykkö are the authors who wrote in English on Russian headlines.

and of seeking attention. Incrustations are sometimes incorporated into language play and this reflects not just the journalist's creativity but also a widely spread knowledge of the foreign language (in particular English) of both meaning and pronunciation.

Breiev (1993) sees the importance of headlines thus: they shape the stories, help readers choose what is important, express the main idea in a compressed and accurate way and so are eloquent, expressive, exact and short. They are the beginning and the 'face' (*litso*) of the story. Lexis plays a determining role and different publications use different vocabulary.

He attempts to link linguistic structures to different functions¹¹² of headlines. Nouns in nominative are used for simple naming. Such headlines can be seen as complete or incomplete sentences. They can possess evaluative or qualitative meaning (*ibid.*:280). Two-part headlines are also frequent; Breiev calls them headlines-sentences. If they are in the form of an infinitive they have an emotional charge; they are also used as a call to action. Complex sentences tend to be elliptical, because their length would otherwise make them cumbersome.

Informative headlines show a tendency to language economy, hence elliptical and fragment constructions are often found here. This increases their expressively emotional function (*ibid.*:282). Breiev notes that omission dots are very popular because they intrigue the reader. They tend to be found especially in youth press. Many headlines have a conversational character –there can display irony, naivety, childishness, and liveliness. Question and answer headlines can be very expressive, especially with an unexpected answer; they are often polemic (*ibid.*:283). Finally Breiev comments on the various plays that enliven headlines such as lines from songs, humour and satire, riddles, sayings and proverbs.

Nikabadze (1994) examines new types of headlines. Puzzle-like headlines seem to be on the increase. The rules of syntactic and semantic coherence in these types are violated and require complex interpretation. Extensive prior knowledge is

¹¹² His understanding of functions is unclear.

often needed as well as the reading of the story itself to understand it. Nikabadze calls such headlines 'coded' (ibid.:181). The informative purpose is weakened and the impact is increased; there are several levels of meanings, from a fairly obvious surface meaning to one with several layers of literal and figurative meanings.

Olkhovikov's interest (1995) lies in the imagery of the headlines. In his opinion, newspapers are both a social and a literary phenomenon, and headlines can be relatively independent parts of the linguistic message, with a structure that subsumes elements of informative, cognitive, psychological and social load (ibid.:12). In the newspaper language these tendencies lead to special poetics of the texts. In a way, newspaper language repeats the evolution of poetical language in order to achieve specifically rhetorical aims (ibid.:14). He remarks on acronyms and abbreviations and believes that at times aphorisms can be created by using them.

The combination of appearance (italics, bold etc.) and lexical and semantic elements can have iconic, symbolic or connotative character and so strengthen the expressive and evaluative functions of the headlines. Olkhovikov also mentions the use of italics – a symbol of the author's 'voice', a sort of signature - and foreign script as a separate element in headlines. Such scripts also perform an ornamental function and can be seen as independent of the story. The various mechanisms mentioned (linguistic and non-linguistic) support the key role of headlines as an effective means of implementing the communicative aim of the journalist.

Annenkov (1995) concentrates on violation in headlines and distinguishes six different types. The first type - 'disinformation' - deals with headlines, which distort the information in the text. The second type concerns sensational headlines offering true but ugly phenomena aimed at undemanding readers (sic). His third category includes headlines that insult the honour and dignity of the readers. The remaining three types encroach in some way on the rights of the news actors. The news actors may be named in the headline and the text, in the text only or not at all. However, judging from the examples, the language is disrespectful and the information at times untrue.

Podchasov (2000a, 2000b) also writes about disorienting headlines. His premise is that headlines should be brief and exact and correspond to the tone of the text. Four categories are offered – unpredictable, reflecting a minor part of the text, untrue and defective. It would seem that much of the material is taken from Hodgson (1992). In his second article he complains about too many abbreviations, acronyms and foreign words, all of these leading to confusing headlines.

A very different approach is that of Shostak (1998). She believes that a good headline can be a piece of art and give readers aesthetic satisfaction (ibid.:61). Post-war headlines are contrasted with the 1990s headlines, the time of author freedom when headlines could be long and include all sorts of devices – colloquialisms, slang, English fragments, acronyms, proper names or figures of speech. Shostak divides headlines into several types such as stating headlines, headlines-resumes, headline-paradoxes and playful headlines (Shostak, ibid.:61 ff).

Reports and profiles of the famous tend to be named briefly, often in a playful fashion or with a touch of irony. Resumes are likely to be in the form of impersonal sentences and often there is an ironical twist. Paradoxical headlines are employed to provide intrigue and sensation, evoke curiosity and shock readers (ibid.:62). Often they enhance an element that is unimportant, so are somewhat misleading. However, they are useful for boring textual information (ibid.:62).

Mentioning news actors in the headlines increases readers' interest, whether they are given their proper names or are mentioned as a group (cf Terenteva, 1990). This leads to the exploitation of famous names. Equally useful are various types of quotations (Shostak, ibid.).

Commands are used to create psychological contact and turn general information into specific and personal information. Shostak comments that due to their similarity with Soviet style appeal headlines they tend to be used as parody (op.cit.:62). She also comments on the use of punctuation. Contemporary journalists seem to like it¹¹³.

¹¹³ An exclamation mark implies anger or annoyance; a question mark can denote a rhetorical question or an attempt to motivate readers to look for solutions. The three dots mark thoughtfulness, at times with irony, and a colon signifies an energetic and impressive resume

Playful headlines, Shostak says, can offer a mirror to events or play the joker. They provide amusement that is outside the text. She enumerates many devices (ibid.:63). Emphasis is placed on the collective knowledge without which this would not be possible. Changed or not, these elements result in various associations, and being able to see through the headline to the original text can be very pleasing to the reader, she maintains. However, there are dangers. Readers may not understand the links or they might misinterpret them and if there are too many such headlines, their purpose of standing out is lost.

Most of the comments concerning Czech headlines are incorporated within the language of the newspaper. One author that dealt with headlines is Valdrová. In two studies she looks at gender. She asserts that masculine nouns reflect male understanding of the world, and this can be seen very clearly in newspaper headlines (1997:91). In another paper on gender (Valdrová, 2001) she discusses the problems of gender representation in newspaper headlines. Having presented headlines from several broadsheet newspapers that were using masculine forms she then offered more 'politically correct' versions with explanations of the proposed changes. As her research showed (ibid.:91), there was no doubt that Czech headline writers predominantly used generic masculine terms, even in cases where the article was exclusively about women. Her findings also confirmed that the higher the social and economic prestige of a given generic masculine term, the more frequently respondents assumed that the post holder was a man. In Valdrova's (ibid.) opinion the absence of feminine terms preserves the image of men as the only creators of values and totally ignores the contributions offered to the society by women. It also has a negative impact on opportunities to find work, because women assume the advertised posts are for men only.

In her conclusion Valdrová (ibid.:96) expresses the opinion that the pressure of generic masculine terms and their optical as well as psychological impact may adversely affect women's interest in the press overall. By making women visible

(ibid.). This finding seems to show a diametrically different development from western Europe where punctuation marks seem to be used less.

in the headlines as well as the articles could well increase the sale of the publications and also lead to a generally more sensitive way of using language.

Having looked at the Western, Russian and Czech views on the language of the newspapers and headlines, we can see that there is much in common between the two, but also much that is different. The informative function is similar though with perhaps slightly less obvious evaluation in the West than in the East; there is, however, a marked difference between the Soviet and post-Soviet view. In the Soviet period headlines were provided more for educational and propagandist purposes whereas in the post-1991 years there are greater similarities with the Western views, aiming at amusement, entertainment, and the sale of the newspapers.

3.7 Summary

The chapter offered a close look at the studies of newspapers language generally and the language of headlines specifically. A comprehensive selection of texts written in the west (predominantly by English researchers), as well as in the “east” has been included. The western and “eastern” material was intended to offer an overview of what has been done already and to provide a wide base from which to select features for the analysis of the collected material. By looking at works from the different countries it is hoped that the field is covered evenly.

The Russian/Czech literature did not appear to contain lists of categories that could be used to inform the coding of headlines for this study, although many thought-provoking ideas have been noted. Some western studies, however, offered such lists. Even though they turned out not to be entirely appropriate it was possible to adapt them. Thus ideas from the western lists were used as a starting point for informing this study. It was also useful to compare and contrast concepts and terminology in order to be able to understand and more accurately describe the changes taking place in the language of headlines.

Some of the studies of Russian and Czech language in the media have been published by western scholars or eastern scholars working in the west, so

providing another view, again a valuable source of information. Many Western and Soviet researchers were interested in language as the means through which status quo was upheld and perpetuated. The difference was in their evaluation of the outcome. Western researchers were very critical of the western and Soviet media because of the way they supported the existing order. The Soviet researchers on the other hand saw this role as a meritorious one.

The post-Soviet/ Czech scholars seem to be concentrating more on the changes that are affecting the language generally, trying to discern trends and explain the new phenomena. Many terms and views are being redefined and some are influenced by the Western research.

The aim of the study is to analyze the language of Russian/ Czech headlines over a period of time in order to evaluate any changes that may have taken place. To this end a variety of features were selected following the literature review and grouped into several clusters, such as headline infrastructure, syntactic, stylistic, content (including news actors and intertextuality) and typological strategies. A detailed schedule is given in the next chapter.

The completion of a literature review for the study has confirmed that the works published both in the west and in the east look predominantly at synchronic data and many of them in a sketchy way. Much of the data looks at newspaper language in general, rather than specifically at headline language. This is the case with Czech literature in particular. Furthermore, in most of this research it is not specified whether the headlines are from the front page or scattered throughout the newspapers. There is also, to our knowledge, no work in English¹¹⁴ on Russian or Czech headlines, either synchronic or diachronic, nor are there systematic diachronic studies in English of headlines in Russian or Czech. This research is thus filling a gap by providing a diachronic, strictly delineated study of front page headlines of four specific publications making use of unified coding. The details of selection of the publications and the approaches to analysis are explained in the following chapter on data selection and methodology.

¹¹⁴ Two articles were found, by Danchenko and Pyykkö (above)

4.0 Materials and methods

4.1 Overview

This chapter provides an explanation of the data selection and the methodology used for its analysis. The scope of the work did not allow additional study of audiences or the processes, which produce media language¹¹⁵. The primary focus is on the headlines and changes in them from the point of view of language and content. In section 4.2 the choice of the publications from which the headlines were gathered is explained, firstly the publications' continued existence throughout the period under scrutiny, secondly their popularity and thirdly their variety. The individual selected publications are then introduced. In section 4.3 the coding used in the study is explained. This is followed by commentary on the headline corpus, section 4.4. The coding schedule provides a broad overview and is followed by detailed explication of each strategy in section 4.5. Brief description of the SPSS, the tool used for the quantitative analysis, is provided at the end of the chapter, in section 4.6.

4.2 Choice of publications

In order to be able to look at Russian headlines diachronically, it was necessary to find publications that existed both before and after 1991. The year 1991 is significant because that is the year when the Soviet Union ceased to exist. The years preceding and following the date saw a major upheaval in the society, with re-evaluation of institutions, ideologies and ideas. Many pre-1991 publications closed down and others only came into being after 1991. The selection had to take this into account. Thus the non-publication of the newspaper or magazine during one or more periods under scrutiny was one factor for its exclusion.

Another factor was the publications' broad appeal. They needed to be comprehensible to a wide variety of people. Those targeting too narrow a group of readers, for example soldiers, or groups with special interests or lifestyles, such as

¹¹⁵ This was due to both time and financial constraints.

village women or young people, were excluded because they potentially reflect the groups’ specialised interests regarding the subjects as well as language.

Table 4.1 shows the popularity of the selected publications. During the Soviet period people generally bought or subscribed to several dailies as well as specialised journals/magazines, so the circulation of newspapers was high, especially of the leading central newspapers such as *Izvestiia*. This was possible because the prices were very low since profitability was not a concern: *Argumenty i fakty* (*AiF*) cost mere 5 kopeks, *Izvestiia* 3 kopecks and *Ogonek* 40 kopecks. The situation changed dramatically after the collapse of the USSR. Harsh economic conditions had an adverse affect on the providers as well as consumers, and television watching became a far cheaper past time than reading the newspapers; there was no TV licence, whereas the newspapers cost several roubles each (Krasnoboka, 2003) .

Name of publication	1985	1989	1990	Feb. 1992	1995-6	1999
<i>Argumenty i fakty</i>	1.4	20.4	31.5 (33.5)	25.7 (22.5)	3.2	2.964 2.84
<i>Izvestiia</i>	6.7	10.1	9.5 (6.87;12.6)	3.8 (3.0)	0.604765	0.2354 (0.26; 0.3675)
<i>Ogonek</i>	N/A	3.1	4.1	1.75	0.10	0.05
<i>Rudé právo</i>	0.90- 1.0	N/A	0.30	0.30	0.32	0.29

Table 4. 1:Circulation of the four publications
(figures in millions approximate as table compiled from various publications which vary considerably)¹¹⁶.

3. Variety of publications was a third criterion, thus a daily newspaper, a weekly newspaper and a weekly magazine were selected for the study: the daily *Izvestiia* and two weeklies - the journal *Ogonek* and the newspaper *AiF*.

¹¹⁶ Circulation figures collated from: Godek, 1992; Murray, 1994; Richter, 1995; Hiebert, 1999; Jones, 2002; Euroreporter, 1996; NationMaster, 2003-5; The Czech Republic Press etc. (2007)ABC.CR (2007); At times different figures were given by different authors for the same year. These are in brackets.

The three Russian publications were among the most popular ones during the perestroika years. This was due to their contents as well as their still subsidised low prices. By the year 1999 the situation changed drastically. The price was no longer subsidised and reflected the actual cost of publishing. Additionally a very large number of other publications appeared, competing for readership. All this led to substantially reduced print runs.

In 1979 the three selected publications targeted different audiences, but during the 1980s they began to converge, aiming to appeal to the general readership and covering similar topical subjects. Their fortunes in the 1990s were mixed. In their efforts to retain and if possible to extend their readerships they employed a variety of means to attract attention: pictures and photographs, colour, different sizes of font and different fonts, and very importantly, more diverse language. In order to attract and keep readers, publications generally use the language most familiar to those readers (Hodgson, 1993:138; Bell, 1991, *passim*). They are therefore assumed to reflect contemporary language use and provide a good source of research material.

Only one Czech newspaper, *Rudé právo*, was chosen. This was done in order to provide a contrast to the Russian publications but partly also to limit the size of the study. Of the newspapers that existed both before and after 1991 it was one closest to the standing of *Izvestiia*. It was the mouthpiece of the Communist party and the Czechoslovak government during the socialist period and was still popular with the readers throughout the 1990s. *Hospodářské noviny* 'Economic news' has tended to concentrate on economic issues and *Mladá Fronta Dnes* (MF Dnes) 'Young front today' was originally a newspaper for young people although in the more recent years it has acquired a wider popularity. Some of the other current publications did not exist in the 1970s and 1980s or disappeared during the 1990s.

4.2.1 *AiF*

AiF is a weekly newspaper with an unusual history. It began to appear in 1978 as a methodological aid to lecturers, propagandists, and political information officers. It was issued initially on a monthly basis by the All-Russian Society *Knowledge* and was only available on a limited subscription. For several years it retained a character of a 'semi-closed publication' (*AiF* history, n.d.) Its main task was to provide materials published in the Soviet press praising Soviet achievements and criticising 'bourgeois ideology and propaganda'¹¹⁷. During the first two years of its existence (1978 and 1979) the paper merely reprinted articles from a variety of newspapers and journals or the press agency TASS. The articles were grouped around specific themes with the paper's own headings.

From 1980, though a number of articles were still reprinted from other publications, there also began to appear articles written specifically for *AiF* (authored articles) and during the following two years or so they almost entirely replaced the articles taken from other publications. The paper also published statistical data and various other facts which either were not available at all in the official press or which were scattered about in often obscure or minor publications and which were difficult to obtain. It began to appear as a weekly in the early 1980s, still on a severely limited subscription¹¹⁸ but became more widely available from 1985 (*Argumenty i fakty* on-line, 2000) and this author's own examination of the publication from different years). During the late 1980s it acquired a reputation for publishing information on topical matters of general interest and in language which was accessible to the general readership.

By 1990 it was the most widely read newspaper in Russia. It caught people's interest with its cutting-edge reporting and often daring stories. It was even entered in the *Guinness Book of Records* with sales of 33.5 million copies per annum. Even though its sales dropped dramatically over the following years (due to difficulties of getting newsprint paper, and people having less money to buy

¹¹⁷ Part of the mast in each issue in 1979

¹¹⁸ No reasons were given in *Argumenty i fakty* on-line for the limited subscription. It may have been due the information being restricted to party personnel.

anything but the essentials), it remained the most widely sold newspaper: 25 million copies were sold in 1992, compared with its nearest rivals *Komsomol'skaia pravda* at 12 million and *Izvestiia* at 3 million in the same year (Murray, 1994:260). Even in 1996 it sold over 3.6 million copies when other papers did not even reach a million (Hiebert, 1999:94). On the basis of this evidence *AiF* merits inclusion in this study.

4.2.2 *Izvestiia*

Izvestiia was originally the newspaper of the government and the legislature (rather than the *Communist Party*, whose organ was *Pravda*). It began its life in March 1917. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, *Izvestiia* established a reputation as one of the most professional newspapers (Jones, 2002:359, 366). During the years 1991-1993 *Izvestiia*, supported by President Yeltsin, fought the Russian Parliament over ownership. The President won the skirmish and the matter was referred to the Constitutional Court which ruled in *Izvestiia*'s favour in May 1993. As other publications, *Izvestiia*, too, was experiencing hard times. This was due to the poor economic situation but also, at least to some extent, to the alienation of their traditional readers. When sponsors were eventually found, there began a struggle for the control of the newspaper and the journalists lost. According to Jones (ibid.:370-1) it was the result of the state striving to control the media. Nevertheless many people see *Izvestiia* as a reliable and authoritative paper.¹¹⁹

4.2.3 *Ogonek*

Ogonek is a well-established journal which includes art and literature within its content. It first appeared on 9th (21st) December 1899¹²⁰ as an illustrated weekly supplement of the *Exchange News* in St.Petersburg, but became independent in 1902. Like many other journals, it ceased publication during the revolution but re-appeared on 1st April 1923 (Loshak and Vdovin, 2005) and was published by the

¹¹⁹ Personal communication (lecturer in Voronezh State University) 2004.

¹²⁰ The old style calendar was not replaced till after October 1917, so dates prior to that time are often given in old and new style respectively

Pravda publishing house till 1991. Prior to 1986 *Ogonek* “had a tradition of attracting a general readership thanks to its crossword and full colour reproductions of art works” (Lovell, 1996:1). As a national publication, it was known as a political and social as well as literary and artistic magazine. During the *perestroika* years it appealed to a broad educated and politically alert readership. In the second half of the 1980s it “was hailed as one of the flagships of perestroika”¹²¹ (Lowell, 1996:1) and gained a reputation for publishing challenging and ground-breaking stories, and initiated limited public discussion on topical matters of general interest. Its popularity (Table 4.1) waned during the 1990s but despite several critical periods, especially in 1994-5 and again in the summer of 1999, it has survived. This is due to its employing a variety of tactics, such as a change of format, reducing drastically the length of its articles and attempting to introduce a more varied content from which the readers could pick and choose. In the 1990s it lost some of its political commitment¹²² but it still provides commentaries on topical affairs and covers developments in the arts. Tracing language developments reflected in this publication’s front page headlines should yield useful data.

4.2.4 *Rudé právo* and *Právo*

Rudé právo (‘The Red Right /Law’) was an offshoot of *Právo lidu*, the organ of the social democratic party, which began life in 1897. In 1920 the communists parted company with the social democrats and began to issue their own newspaper. A number of left-wing writers contributed to it in the period between the wars. In 1938 the *Communist Party* was abolished and the paper was published as an underground pamphlet. Both it and the *Communist Party* were restored after the second world war and after the coup in 1948, *Rudé právo* became the leading newspaper in the socialist Czechoslovakia, the combined equivalent of the Soviet *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*.

¹²¹ ‘Perestroika’ (restructuring) and ‘glasnost’ (openness) were introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev after he became the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in March 1985. These processes eventually led to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

¹²² Comment by a Russian lecturer in Yaroslavl, personal communication, spring 1999

It had a very high circulation, around one million copies, There were several reasons for that but above all the cost was very low, so everybody could afford it and many people and organisations were compelled to purchase a copy to keep abreast with events and opinions of the *Communist Party* (Rude pravo, Wikipedia on-line, 2005).

Almost a year after the Velvet Revolution, in the autumn of 1990, a new company was formed *Borgis a.s.*, not related to the communists, and began to publish the daily as a 'leftist paper'. It is one of a very few Czech newspaper¹²³ which is in Czech ownership. Its owner is Zdeněk Porybný. The paper dropped the adjective *rudé* from the title in 1993.

Many of the other party and organisation newspapers that were published before 1989 have since disappeared, unable to survive. Only *MF Dnes* and *Hospodářské noviny* still appear, but neither of these publications is equivalent to the Russian publications selected for this study. Therefore for reasons of parity, as well as a wide readership basis *Rudé právo* for 1979 and 1989 and *Právo* for 1999 were chosen for comparative purposes. *Rudé právo* was the most widely sold newspaper in Czechoslovakia prior to 1990, and in the beginning of the 21st century *Právo* is the third most widely read newspaper in the Czech Republic, it was decided to choose this newspaper for comparative purposes.

4.3 Coding of headlines for the study

Headlines are classified in a variety of ways in journalistic and media literature (e.g. Evans, 1974; Mardh, 1981; Fruchey, 1989; Hodgson, 1993; Morley, 1998)). A brief discussion and a definition can be found in chapter 3. A more detailed system of coding, was needed for this study so that each individual headline could be identified, and it is explained below.

¹²³ Correct in 2005 (Smid 2005, :148)

4.3.1 Coding of Russian headlines

Each headline was given a unique code (a string of alphanumeric characters), for example 17ogon99/1a. This represents the most prominent front page headline in *Ogonek* No.17 published in 1999. Similarly 51aif89/1a represents the most prominent front page headline in *Argumenty i fakty* No.51 from 1989. The issue number is followed by an abbreviated name of the publication and the year of publication: the abbreviation for *Izvestiia* is *izv* and for *Rude právo* *rp*; the same abbreviation *rp* was retained for *Právo* in order to facilitate work with statistical data. The last two characters indicate the prominence of the headline.

Identifying headlines according to their prominence was a response to the coding problems posed by the varying number and size of headlines which appeared on the front pages of the different publications. It was decided to make the numbering of headlines page specific, and the headlines were numbered from one to four, relative to one another because some front pages carry a very large headline and one or several smaller headlines and other front pages only have a number of much smaller headlines. The scale 1 - 4 was adopted: all the headlines on the page were given a number 1, 2, 3 or 4 according to their prominence based on their appearance (size and boldness).

If two or more headlines on the page fell in the same category they were distinguished by adding a letter *a*, *b*, *c* etc. to their number, thus getting 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b and so on. The letters after the number show that there were two or more headlines of the like size. In most cases there was only one number 1 headline. The letter *a* was assigned to such headlines also in order to accommodate the computer program. In the rare cases, typically in *Ogonek* for 1999, where there were two number 1 headlines, the headline that accompanied the main picture/photograph or the one positioned in the upper half and on the left of the page was numbered 1a and the other one 1b.

If there was a column headline or standing head, it received the code *r*: r2a, r3a or r4a. Each rubric head was entered only once to prevent distorting the findings. Inscriptions below or in the pictures were ignored for the purpose of this study

unless they were above the picture and of sufficiently big font to appear as a head, rather than a caption. Occasionally subheadings appeared as separate paragraph headings within a larger block of text. These were also ignored unless they were in big enough type to attract attention. Trailers or signpost heads (Morley, 1998: 80) referring to articles on other pages of the same publication were included without any special reference, however, trailers referring to supplements published on other days were excluded as they did not aid the purchase of that day's publication.

4.3.2 Coding of Czech headlines

Unlike the headlines in the Russian newspapers, the ones in the Czech newspapers for 1979 and 1989 were not quite so easy to code because the distribution pattern was less obvious. In order to confirm the researcher's own codification developed when working with the Russian headlines, photocopies of several front pages were given out in England to 15 non-Czech speakers and in the Czech Republic to 15 Czech speakers. Both groups were of similar educational level and in age varied from mid-20s to retirement. They were asked to order the headlines according to their perceived prominence. Although the findings were not uniform there was sufficient consensus among the respondents to set up a pattern¹²⁴.

The final codification was as follows. The scale 1-4 was adopted, with the most prominent headline being 1 and 4 being the least prominent. Headlines broadly similar in size were numbered 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 2c etc., the one placed higher up on the page being *a* and the lower one *b*. If two headlines were at the same height the one on the left was *a* and the one on the right *b*.

4.3.3 Decks

Headlines consisting of more than one deck were fitted into the scale 1 to 4 by the size of the main headline. According to Mardh (1980:35) a deck is a headline in a certain formation. An article can have one, two or more decks, each one usually

¹²⁴ The front page headlines from Rudé právo No. 8 for 1979 are discussed in Appendix 3 to illustrate the situation.

smaller than the previous one, but all are in bigger print than the text of the story, for example¹²⁵:

«Я ставлю спектакли для себя» (217izv99/4f)
Интервью с режиссером Львом Додиным
“Ja stavliu spektakli dlia sebia”
Interviu s rezhisserom L'vom Dodinym
‘ “I stage performances for myself”
An interview with director Leo Dodin’

G7 a Rusko se dohodly na rezoluci ke Kosovu
Po jejím přijetí Radou bezpečnosti by mohly nálety skončit (133rp99/1a)
‘G7 and Russia agreed on a resolution for Kosovo
After being accepted by the Security Council the air raids might come to an end’

The lower deck usually provides some additional information that helps to understand the upper one. It is not to be confused with a lead, which is different again. Bell (1991:150) describes the lead as the journalist’s primary abstract of a story, whereas the head is, in his words, ‘the abstract of the abstract’.

In cases where there are just two decks, the lower deck may be called a subhead, a subordinate headline or title that explains or contrasts the headline (Fruchey, 1989). In a few cases in the Russian data, but frequently in the Czech data, especially in the 1999 samples, the upper deck is somewhat smaller and provides additional information for the bigger lower deck. This is known as *strapline* (Evans, 1974):

Tchajwanský vládní mluvčí Čen Tien-Žen pro Právo:
Nejsme Hongkong ani Macao (196rp99/2a)
‘Taiwan government spokesman Chen Tien-Jen told Právo:
We are neither Hongkong nor Macao’

In some cases the headlines are very elaborate, consisting of several individual sentences or segments arranged in an unusual way. The headline on the front page of Ogoněk No 29 for 1999 serves as a good example. The headline covers almost the whole page. It consists of four phrases of different sizes, on different lines and in different parts of the page, and different colours are used, too:

¹²⁵ In this thesis the main headline is shown in bold if there are several sentences or decks, transliteration from Russian is in Italics and translation is placed in single inverted commas. All parts of the headlines are in the same font size. Where there is only the main headline it is not highlighted.

«Черные метки» для олигархов готовы. Что дальше?
X files Отечества . 13
Компромат массового поражения (29ogon99/1a)
“Chernyie metki” dlia oligarkhov gotovy. Chto dal’she?
X files Otechestva. 13
Kompromat massovogo porazheniia
“Black marks” for the oligarchs are ready. What next?
X files of the Fatherland [p.] 13
Compromising material for shocking the masses’.

In this the same approach was adopted as for decks. The main or the biggest segment was numbered 1 as it was the most prominent on the page

Some of the Czech heads are a part subhead and part main head (the two make just one sentence: e.g.

Obětavě
plnili úkoly (1rp89/1b)
‘Selflessly
they were carrying out their tasks‘

In such cases the headline was classified as a single head.

4.4 Preliminary comments

Two statements were made in the opening paragraph of this chapter: the intention to prepare a diachronic study through the analysis of front page headlines and the significance of the year 1991 (the collapse of the USSR). The literature review confirmed that language changes over time, but that the changes are not even. The hypothesis put forward was that in times of social upheaval language changes are faster and so more noticeable than in times of social calm.

The socialist Europe was undergoing major social upheavals around the year 1990 although the beginnings can be traced to a few years prior to that. Expectations of change were in the air since Brezhnev, the general secretary of the USSR, died in 1981. To a certain extent the choice of the year 1989 as the ‘starting point’ was somewhat arbitrary but it also was the year of the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, and the events in the Soviet Union were also beginning to unfold faster. The decision to go back by ten years was made because 1979 was a year

mired in the stagnation of the socialist system both in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. To keep a balance, the same length of time was then used to go forward from 1989. It seemed that by 1999 the most traumatic upheavals were over and that society both in Russia and the Czech Republic were beginning to settle. From the torpor in 1979, through the excitement of the 1989 to a comparative calm of 1999 the different stages of societal development are seen reflecting in language.

4.4.1 *AiF* headlines

1979: In that year only twelve issues of *AiF* were published, yielding 136 headlines¹²⁶. The front page of the publication was divided into two halves. The right-hand side had a big headline and text (digest from two or three newspapers); the left hand side showed contents, headlines in capitals with a bullet point and sentence cases for other headlines. In the study the bulleted heads were numbered 2a, 2b etc., the non-bulleted ones 3a, 3b etc. The headline on the right-hand side (which was then the first bulleted head on the left-hand side) was assigned the code 1a. The masthead varied in colour from number to number: the colours used were green, blue, red and wine-coloured. In some issues the smaller headlines were in the same colour as the masthead.

1989: *AiF* appeared weekly and 314 headlines were initially collected. The front page normally contained one or two large articles. These tended to occupy about 2/3 of the right-hand side. There was a drawing, a collage or a photograph, sometimes with a caption, often without, within this space, and then there were regular columns. The column on the left-hand side contained three to five short items and appeared every week. There was also a column on the right-hand side that was not as frequent. The columns had their own head. This regular rubric headline was included only once, which reduced the number of headlines to 236.

1999: The appearance of the weekly issues of *AiF* was very different. There were no articles on the front page at all. The masthead was very large and occupied the

¹²⁶ Issue No.2 was not available and so is missing from the sample.

whole width of the page. Above it there was the main headline at the very top, below which there were usually two or three pictures with smaller headlines and page numbers. When two pictures appeared, one at each side of the page, the headlines were normally situated between them. When there were three pictures, they were clustered together on the left and the headlines were to their right. The page below the masthead was divided unequally –the greater space was occupied by a photograph or a collage with text often within its frame. The side was filled with smaller headlines, referring readers to pages within the publication. 608 headlines were collected from the 52 issues for the year.

4.4.2 *Izvestiia* headlines

1979: *Izvestiia* appeared in 305 issues in 1979. Every fifth¹²⁷ issue was selected to get a fair cross-section of headlines over the whole year and from different days in order to retain parity with the other publications and provide a more equivalent body of material.¹²⁸ 750 headlines were collected. The same pattern was adopted in 1989 and 603 headlines were collected. By-lines have been ignored.

1989: The appearance of the front page did not change much over the decade. The 1989 masthead was placed in the top left-hand corner and was surrounded by several awards. Below the paper's name (in 1979) and on its right (in 1989) was the inscription "of the Soviets of the people's deputies". Above it ran three lines of 'Proletarians from all countries unite' in the languages of the 15 republics. The 1989 issues say Moscow edition or Moscow evening edition. Normally the page carried at least one positive photograph or a drawing and there was a variety of texts.

1999: The paper was generally published on five days a week only, with normally no editions on Mondays and frequently also on Tuesdays, the total number of

¹²⁷ Since the paper normally appeared six times a week, every sixth issue would have given the same day of the week, hence every fifth was selected instead.

¹²⁸ The idea of a constructed week (Bell, 1991) was considered but abandoned because it would have provided information over five or six weeks only and parity between the publications would have been diminished.

issues being 247 for the year and yielding 582 headlines. Headlines were collected from every fourth issue. The appearance of the front page changed considerably from the previous two years under examination. The masthead appeared quite bare, there were no awards, and the slogans were missing. The vacated space was taken by a small picture and a teaser¹²⁹ or trailer, enticing the potential reader to a text within. In some editions there was an advertisement for a weekend supplement instead. In October – November the number of such teasers increased, replacing small items of news that were there before. Additionally, in the second half of the year more space was given to photographs and pictures.

4.4.3 *Ogonek* headlines

1979: In this year there were only seven headlines in the 52 issues of *Ogonek*. There were additional texts on two other front pages, but these texts were a part of the pictorial background, not headlines. The only consistently prominent text was the masthead. It was printed in white capital letters on red background and situated in different positions on the page. Most frequently it was on the left hand side, alternating between the top, middle and bottom part of the page, at times it was in the top right corner and on several occasions it was even placed in the middle of the page. To the left of the journal's name was a small badge bearing the image of Lenin and his name. The almost total absence of headlines implies that the pictures were expected to have a sufficient pulling power. Most of the issues had just one image on the front page, usually people, mostly one person – either a photograph or a reproduction of a portrait.

1989: There were 52 issues of *Ogonek* in 1989 and 234 headlines were collected. The front or cover page consisted of three sections: masthead in the top left hand corner, a large picture or photograph that covered some $\frac{3}{4}$ of the page and a narrow strip either on the left-hand side of the page or at the top next to the masthead, with usually two small visuals (a photograph, reproduction of a painting or a drawing) and several headlines. The number of these varied from three to five. All the headlines referred to texts or art pages within the publication,

¹²⁹ By-lines give the name of the journalist/correspondent, sometimes the place from which they are reporting. (Fruchey, 1989).

although page numbers were not given. Often the article had a different title than the headline on the front page, and at times it was very difficult to match the story and the cover page headline, e.g. *Svoei dorogoi* 'In her own way' is the headline number 10ogon89/2d, but inside the magazine the article is called *Schastie Zoi Chernakovoi* 'Happiness of Zoia Chernakova'. Zoia Chernakova was a painter, and a small reproduction of one of her paintings on the front cover and in the article was the only clue linking the two headlines.

1999: *Ogonek* had 40 issues which yielded 123 headlines. In the first half of the year there were only two headlines on each front page. Later in the year the number of headlines increased to as many as six. The front pages were rather artistic, displaying a portrait, a photograph or a collage. Even if the photograph was of a well-known person, it tended to be stylized. The headlines generally did not follow the headline arrangement in the newspapers. They consisted of either one or several sentences, but even a single sentence could be – and often was – arranged in two or more lines: e.g. headline *Angely nas ne pokinut* 'Angels won't forsake us' (1-2ogon99/1a). Most of the headlines were accompanied by a page number which itself could be very prominent, on occasion even more so than the headline.

Visually, the three publications underwent considerable changes over the decades, with a greater emphasis on attracting readers by enhancing the visual appearance and offering a greater variety of headlines in 1999 in comparison to 1979.

4.4.4. *Rudé právo* and *Právo* headlines

1979: 426 headlines were collected from *Rudé právo* for 1979. Several types of headlines were encountered. These were simple headlines, headlines with a strapline, headlines with a subhead, headlines with several subheads marked as bullet points and headlines combining strapline and bullet points. Some headlines were accompanied by by-lines. Bullet points were ignored in this analysis as their purpose seems to be the same as subheads within the body of the article. By-lines were also ignored.

1989: *Rudé právo* for 1989 yielded 581 headlines. The publication displayed similar variety of headlines as the 1979 one did, but several rubrics and trailers were added. When the trailers referred to that day's paper, they were included, e.g. trailers in the rubric *Dnes v listě*. If they referred to other days' supplements they were ignored, e.g. *Halo sobota* for the Saturday supplement.

1999: *Právo* for 1999 yielded 367 headlines. Although it is a continuation of the communist *Rudé právo*, it actually started its numbering from 1990 as the first year of its publication, so in 1999 it was in year 9. The classification followed the pattern arrived at when working with the other publications. The most prominent headline is 1a, the red-coloured headline in the bottom right corner (a regular feature) is 2a, the large font italicised head is 2b and where there was another similar size head it is 2c. The rest of the headlines on the page were marked 3a, 3b etc. and the trailers are 4a, 4b etc. Advertisements, which began to appear in the 1999 editions, were ignored.

The newspaper underwent several changes over the decades with font size being the most striking. The front pages in 1979 had seven densely packed columns with one or two pictures, by 1999 there were only six columns in a bigger size font. The mast head also changed, losing various decorative emblems. There were more photographs of varied subjects, and colour made an appearance, with some headlines printed in red. Again a greater emphasis on attracting readers is noticeable.

4.5 Socio-linguistic strategies

Different functions of headlines are discussed in chapter 3, but it is generally accepted that the main aim of headlines is to attract readers' attention to the article and so to the publication (e.g. Lazareva, 1989; Terenteva, 1993; Gilmore, 1990). This is achieved by offering information that will be found useful, interesting and/or amusing. In this way as many issues may be sold as possible, so safeguarding the future of the publication. Influence or persuasion may also be exerted in order to disseminate the paper's (owner's) view of the world. It is

therefore necessary to establish what strategies are found in headlines and to demonstrate what means are employed to realise these strategies¹³⁰. Both these aspects might point to trends within the headlines – it is probable that longer headlines will be summaries, offering more information than headlines with fewer words or decks.

4.5.1 The outline

The strategies have been assigned to several groups. The order in which the groups are presented does not represent the relative importance of the groupings, rather it strives to gather together strategies and characteristics that have some common qualities or are broadly related. An overview is provided in the Coding schedule (Table 4.2 below), then come initial comments on the division and on the criteria selected for this study of headlines. This is then followed by more detailed explanations and examples. A detailed list is in Appendix 2.

The first grouping contains strategies that provide the headline infrastructure, the principles that organise the text. They are the blueprints which are realised primarily through different semantic and pragmatic means. In this study they are called mutually exclusive strategies because only one of these can be found in any one headline at the same time. In headlines consisting of several decks or sentences it was the most prominent deck or the first sentence that was analysed for the mutually exclusive strategies¹³¹, for example headline 29ogon99/1a, (see above) where the headline was given in four distinct segments – statement, question and two separate nominal phrases. The most prominent segment there was the phrase *X files Otechestva*. This was then used to classify the headline as topic-naming.

¹³⁰ Newspapers also use typographical strategies (colour, size, position of headlines). However interesting these are they are outside the scope of this work and will not be dealt with in this study, with two exceptions – number of words per headline and presence or absence of decks in headlines.

¹³¹ Analysis of other decks and sentences was considered. If these decks or sentences were entered as separate cases, the final analysis would be distorted because each element would have the weighting of a full headline. If these elements were analysed through the use of additional variables, they would not be included in the main statistical findings: combining the additional variables with the variables used for single sentence headlines would result in the same weighting problems as would have arisen if they were included as separate cases. Thus, the results would either be distorted or the additional elements would not be included in the main analysis. The idea was therefore discarded.

MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE STRATEGIES	NON-EXCLUSIVE STRATEGIES		
	Language strategies	Content strategies	Typological strategies
Framework strategies			
Topic-namic	Syntactic	Nes/social actor	Number of words
Summarising	Stylistic	Subject matter	Presence/absence of decks
Erotetic ¹³²	Abbreviations	Intertextuality	
Exclaiming			
Wishing			
Other/residual			

Table 4. 2: Coding schedule - broad outlines

If the headline consisted of two or more sentences presented in equal prominence, the first sentence was used to assign the headline to a strategy, so in the example below the sentence: ‘Russia is losing the North’ was classified as a summary.

Россия теряет Север. В чем причина? Кто виноват? (1izv99/3b)
Rossia teriaiet Sever. V chhem prichina? Kto vinovat?
‘Russia is losing the North. Where does the cause lie? Who is to blame?’

Some headlines were made of two parts which, however, contained only one thought. This divided thought was viewed as a form of foregrounding of the most attractive or important segment of the sentence. For instance, a simple question: *Kakaia molodezh 21 veka?* ‘What it the youth of the 21st century like?’ was broken up into two parts. *Molodezh 21 veka* ‘The youth of the 21st century’ was foregrounded and a separate question with a pronoun replacing *molodezh* ‘youth’ added: *Kakaia ona?* ‘What is it like?’ (17aif99/2c). In grammatical description, such type of sentence where “one constituent appears in the initial position and its canonical position is filled by a pronoun or a full lexical noun phrase with the same reference” is classified as “*left dislocation*” (Crystal, 1997:217). These types of headlines are treated as simple sentences in this study. Similarly, if one part of the headline was made prominent by typographical means but the sentence was seen as one sentence, it was analyzed as such. In the following example the part

¹³² From Greek, meaning question: pertaining to questioning, interrogatory, *OED* on-line, [Accessed 14th July 2004].

'traces of God' was printed in a large font (though not in capital letters). Despite that the whole headline is treated as one simple sentence:

Американский спутник обнаружил следы Бога (21ogon99/2a)
Amerikanskij sputnik obnaruzhil sledy Boga.
'An American satellite discovered traces of God'

The same situation applies in the next example, where the last two words (*nekhoroishiie slova* 'ugly words') are much more prominent than the rest:

Почему на заборах больше не пишут нехорошие слова (24ogon99/3a)
Pochemu na zaborakh bol'she ne pishut nekhoroishiie slova
'Why people do not write bad words on fences any more'

The non-exclusive strategies are subdivided further. To carry on with the building metaphor, they are the bricks and mortar of the headlines. These strategies are called non-exclusive strategies here, because they can, though they do not need to, co-exist with one another within the same headline. Such co-existence can be found within each of the groups as well as across them. If one of the previous examples is used as an illustration, there is reference to an American television programme *The X files* (intertextuality) and the sentence is incomplete (syntactic strategy). Similarly a news actor (content strategy) can be found in an elliptical sentence (syntactic strategy), e.g.:

Галина Вишневская о Родине, музыке и любви (1aif99/3b).
Galina Vyshnevskaja o rodine, muzyke i liubvi
'Galina Vishnevskaja about her motherland, music and love'

The subdivisions within the non-exclusive language strategies include syntactic¹³³ and stylistic means. Here belong grammatical constructions (different verbal categories, sentence forms, sentence complexity and completeness of the sentence /ellipsis). Only the most prominent segment of complex headlines is analysed here. Stylistic means include register, various rhetorical figures, wordplay and evaluation. Another subdivision is the use of abbreviations.

The substance of the headline is provided by the content, whether it be informational, entertaining or intriguing. The strategies employed here include the category of social and news actor, intertextuality and subject matter.

¹³³ Terms 'syntax' and 'grammar' used interchangeably here, after Borrás and Christian (1971) *Russian Syntax*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Two typological strategies – the number of words in each headline and the number of decks – have also been added to test possible changes over the years.

4.5.2 Mutually exclusive strategies

After a preliminary review of headlines across the publications from different years, several strategies have become apparent, however, the literature review did not reveal any systematic labelling of them. Therefore for the purpose of this study a set of tags has been devised labelling the headline strategies as follows: topic-naming, summarising, erotetic, exclaiming, wishing and other. Erotetic or questioning headlines were subdivided in respect of their structure into several separate categories, such as intonation only, including an interrogative pronoun etc.. Topic-naming and summarising headlines were further subdivided into clear and obscure. In this study the word ‘obscure’ is used in its primary meaning, i.e. ‘not clearly expressed or easily understood, vague, uncertain. (OED, 1996, s.v.).

The words *clear* and *obscure* were selected only after much deliberation. This set of opposite terms was employed as more appropriate from the reader’s point of view. It therefore follows that a headline is seen as unambiguous, transparent or clear when it can be easily understood by the recipient, when the frame of reference provides sufficient points of knowledge shared by the author and readers to place them on common ground. If the information is not readily understood, the headline is seen as ambiguous, unclear or obscure.

The lack of explanation and clarity, however, need not be an obstacle in attracting readers as such a headline can often act as a powerful pull because it piques readers’ curiosity:

Чемпионы-самоубийцы (18aif99/3h)
Championy- samoubijtsy
‘Top sportmen who commit suicide’

“Obscure-ness” in a headline can be caused by other factors, too; for example by its elliptic character, where the headline writer offers incomplete information to the readers in order to seduce them into wanting to know more. Suppressing some

element of the sentence, withholding it, can become the impetus for readers to become interested and potentially to purchase the publication:

Поэт и его жертвы (8ogon99/1a)
Poet i iego zherty
'The poet and his victims'

Více důvěry (180rp89/4d)
'More trust'

Metaphors and intertextuality can intrigue the reader in a similar way:

Украденный Клондайк: Почему в Заполярье не едят капусту
(237izv99/2a)
Ukradennyi Klondaik: Pochemu v Zapoliar'e ne iediat kapustu
'Stolen Klondike: Why people don't eat cabbage in the polar regions'

Obscurity then, whether of topic-naming or of summary, is not necessarily an obstacle in attracting readers' attention to the publication.

4.5.2.1 Topic-naming headlines

The first popular strategy is that of the topic-naming headline. A topic-naming headline names the person(s), event(s), thing(s) or concept(s), and it may give an indication of what the article is about but no more:

Советская печать (105izv79/1a)
Sovetskaia pechat'
'The Soviet Press'

Доверия достойны (5izv89/2a)
Doveriia dostoiny
'[People] worthy of [our] trust' (pre-election article)

Аресты религиозных экстремистов в Египте (130izv89/4a)
Aresty religioznykh ekstremistov v Iegipte
'Arrests of religious extremists in Egypt'

Polsko před volbami (110rp89/4h)
'Poland before elections'

The readers receive very limited information; the headline is merely a label. Typically these headlines describe a result or the state of things, a static situation, and their characteristic feature is brevity. Such headlines normally contain nouns; other parts of speech can also be found, though rarely a verb; grammatically they

are elliptical sentences, because structurally they are incomplete. They are categorised as topic-naming headlines because any missing information cannot be retrieved from the rest of the headline.

The clarity of a topic-naming headline varies from quite obvious, as seen in the examples above, through the ones where the reader needs to work at the understanding, to headlines that are not clear at all (see examples below):

ИПАТОВСКИЙ МЕТОД НА БЕЛОЙ СТРАДЕ (225izv79/4c)
Ipatovskii metod na beloi strade
'Ipatov method for the white harvest'

ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВО ОСЕННИХ ЦЫПЛЯТ¹³⁴ (97izv99/1a)
Pravitel'stvo osennikh tsypliat
'The government of autumn chickens'

ПУШКИН В ШОКОЛАДЕ (19aif99/3a)
Pushkin v shokolade
'Pushkin in chocolate'

Obscurity of this kind presents difficulties for all readers, be they native or non-native speakers of the language and whether they do or do not follow the course of events reported by the newspapers.

Some of the headlines are difficult to assign to clear or obscure topic-naming strategy, because they are very general.

ОБСУЖДАТЬ РАВНОПРАВНО (40a89/3b)
Obsuzhdat' ravnopravno
'Fair judging'

It is clear that the topic is fairness in judging, but what sphere of action is involved is not specified, nor is the reader told whether it is desirable, acquired or possible. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this research, the idea of fair justice was seen as given and the headline was classified as a clearly topic-naming one. Similarly the idea of announcement by some governmental or party body is obvious in the following headline though the reader hardly has any idea about the actual announcement:

¹³⁴ Explanation of this headline is in the section on word play below.

От Президиума Верховного Совета СССР (65izv89/4f)
Ot prezidiuma Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR
'From the preasidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR'

4.5.2.2 Summarising headlines

Summarising headlines, as the name suggests, summarise the information that is given in the article, providing a brief account or the main point(s) of the article. Such headlines often describe an action or an activity which is usually represented by a verb:

Сеют владимирские земледельцы (120izv79/2b)
Seiut vladimirskie zemledel'tsy
'Vladimir farmers are sowing'

Опальный парламент Белоруссии назначает президентские выборы (1izv99/4d)
Opal'nyi parlament Belorussii naznachaet prezidentskiye vybory
'Disfavoured Byelorussian parliament sets [date for] the presidential election'

However, a/the verb can be omitted if it is easy to deduce from the context and re-instate in the reader's mind. In the headline below, a verb such as 'talks' or 'reminisces' can be readily provided:

Галина Вишневская о Родине, музыке и любви (1aif99/3b)
Galina Vyshnevskaiia o rodine, muzyke i liubvi
'Galina Vyshnevskaiia about motherland, music and love'

"Verbs of saying" may be omitted in Russian, especially when the meaning is clear without it (Borras and Christian, 1971:414-5). Russian also belongs to the group of languages where copulative verbs are omitted. This is the case with the verb *to be* in the present tense. In writing they can be replaced by a long dash, in speech by a pause.

Мы— Верхняя Вольта, но наш бронепоезд ... (6aif99/3d)
My – Verkhniaia Vol'ta, no nash branepoiezd...
'We are Upper Volta, but our armoured train...'

These types of headlines can be clear as in the first three examples above, or they can be obscure to a varying degree:

Жизнь и смерть самой дорогой девушки города Таганрога, родины А.П.Чехова (16ogon99/2a)

Zhizn' i smert' samoi dorogoi devushki goroda Taganroga, rodiny A.P.Chekhova

'The life and death of the dearest girl in Taganrog, the birthplace of A.P. Chekhov'

A znovu zavlála vlajka československá (201rp89/1a)

'Again the Czechoslovak flag began to flutter'

4.5.2.3 Erotetic headlines

Several different types of erotetic headlines were noted. Firstly there were questions formed purely by intonation. These headlines have the structure of a statement but are followed by a question mark:

Много вдов? (41aif89/3b)

Mnogo vdov?

'[Are there} many widows?'

Included in this category are also headlines with the interrogative particles *razve*, *neuzheli* and the conjunction *ili* :

Разве учеба – не труд? (29aif89/3b)

Razve ucheba – ne trud?

'Isn't learning work?'

Телевизионная трибуна: монолог или диалог? (32aif89/1a)

Televizionnaia tribuna: monolog ili dialog?

'TV platform: a monologue or a dialogue?'

The second group includes questions formed with the help of interrogative pronouns or adverbs such as 'why', 'who' or 'when', and followed by a question mark:

Почему партия отстает? (36aif89/1a)

Pochemu partiia otstaiet?

'Why does the party¹³⁵ lag behind?'

The third grouping contains questions with the enclitic interrogative particle *li* and inverted word order, in this case VOS:

Поправят ли дела поправки? (35aif89/1a).

Popraviat-li dela popravki?

'Will corrections correct matters?'

¹³⁵ The only party allowed in 1989 was the Communist party

Subordinate clauses beginning with an interrogative pronoun, but not displaying a question mark and without the main clause have been placed into a separate group: This type of sentence is known as an independent clause. In this study the type is included as a subgroup within the erotetic strategy:

Как готовился диалог США-ООП 15izv89/3b
Kak gotovilsia dialog SShA-OOP
'How the dialogue USA –PLO was prepared'

Кто смеется последним (52ogon89/2c)
Kto smeioticsia poslednim
'[He] who laughs last'

4.5.2.4 Exclaiming headlines

An exclamation is a type of sentence that is used to express the speaker's feeling or attitude¹³⁶. Traditionally, an exclamation refers to any emotional utterance, usually lacking the grammatical structure of a full sentence, and marked by strong intonation, often expressed in writing by an exclamation mark: e.g. 'What a day!' The term is used here in a broad way:

Пара бы пересмотреть! (35aif89/3a)
Para by peresmotret'!
'[It's] time for a review!'

Спасибо, Наташа! (16ogon89/1a)
Spasibo, Natasha!
'Thanks, Natasha!'

Slogans are also included in this category, e.g.:

Наука –селу (75izv79/2a)
Nauka – selu
'Science for the village'

4.5.2.5 Wishing headlines

This category includes headlines offering wishes and congratulations:

С трудовой победой (10izv79/3b)
S trudovoi pobedoi
'Happy victory at work!'

¹³⁶ Leech and Svartvik (1994) 2nd ed.: 275, 132, 153,; Crystal, (1997), 4th ed. :142

but also condolences and ‘thank you’ headlines when these are phrased as a dative:

Его превосходительству господину Иеремие Табаки Президенту
Кирибати (160izv79/4d)

Ego prevoskhoditel'stvu gospodinu Ieremiie Tabaki Prezidentu Kiribati
‘To His Excellency Mr. Jeremiah Tabaki, President of Kiribati’

Wishes and slogans at times overlap (see example above). They tend to be used on special days (e.g. New Year's day) or days of special importance to the state, such as October revolution anniversary. If they follow the pattern *s* (preposition meaning ‘with’) followed by the instrumental case of the noun, as for example *S trudovoi pobedoi*, they are classified as wishing headlines.

4.5.2.6 ‘Other/residual’, and ‘other adverbial’ categories

Two further categories were included for headlines that did not sit well elsewhere, e.g. calls to people and bodies, headlines which merely expressed an adverbial idea etc.:

Всемирной конференции «За мирное и счастливое будущее для всех
детей» (210izv79/3a)

Vsemirnoi konferentsii 'Za mirnoie I schastlivoie budushcheie dlia vsekh detei

‘To the world conference ‘For peaceful and happy future for all children’

Совместными усилиями (255izv79/3d)

Sovmestnymi usiliiami

‘With joint efforts’

Выгодно

Vygodno (4aif89/3c)

‘Advantageous’

Предлагаю (52aif89/3b)

Predlagaiu

‘I propose’

И все же ... (44aif89/3a)

I vsio zhe ...

‘And all the same ...’

Headlines placed in the ‘other adverbial’ category which name a place could be seen – at least to some extent – as a variation of the topic-naming headline, as

they name a segment of a potential topic which is only partially obscure. Past experience gives readers a good idea what to expect. In the example below readers will anticipate reading about discussions in the Communist Party highest organ:

В Политбюро ЦК КПСС (50izv89/1a)

V politburo TsK KPSS

‘In the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR’

The next headline misses the subject as well as the verb, although it is possible to assume that the subject is some state delegation, or perhaps a dance or theatre troupe heading for celebrations in Algiers:

Na oslavy v Alžírsku (257rp79/4a)

To celebrations in Algiers

The topic in this headline was so vague it was felt that the ‘other adverbial’ category was more appropriate.

Where the headline has the expression ‘at the place of’ (conveyed in the example below by the preposition ‘u’) this is classified as ‘affected other’ rather than a place:

Přijetí u předsedy vlády ČSSR (78rp79/4a)

‘Audience at the (with) the prime minister of the CSSR’

4.5.3 Non-exclusive language strategies

Other selected strategies are called non-exclusive strategies as two or more strategies can co-exist in the same headline. They can enhance the interest of the readers and therefore the headline attractiveness. They have been subdivided into language (4.5.3.1) and content (4.5.3.2) strategies. Also included in this set are typological strategies (4.5.3.3).

4.5.3.1 Syntactic strategies

Four specific language strategies were selected for analysis, namely sentence form (4.4.3.1.1), wholeness [\pm ellipsis] (4.4.3.1.2), sentence complexity (4.4.3.1.3) and verbal categories (active and passive of full verbs, participles, gerunds, infinitives etc.) (4.4.3.1.4).

4.5.3.1.1 Sentence form

Sentence form category traces the standard types: statement, imperative, question, exclamation and wishes. The examples below illustrate the different types. There are two statements – one with a full verb and one with a copula (which in Russian is not expressed verbally but by a hyphen or a zero link).

Statement with full verb:

Гонка вооружений увеличивает армию безработных (8aif79/3e)

Gonka vooruzhenii uvelichivaiet armiiu bezrabortnykh

‘The arms race increases the army of the unemployed’

Statement with copula:

Под секретом — правила (12aif89/3a)

Pod sekretom - pravila

‘The rules (are) secret’

Command:

Не плюйте в даму с бриллиантами (41aif99/3d)

Ne pliuite v damu s brilliantami

‘Don’t spit at the lady with diamonds’

Question:

Каких катастроф нам ждать? (10aif99/1a)

Kakikh katastrof nam zhdai’?

‘What catastrophies await us?’

Exclamation:

Только Советы! (43aif89/3a)

Tol’ko Sovety!

‘Only the Soviets!’

Wish:

С Новым годом! (1ogon79)

S Novym godom!

Happy New Year!

4.5.3.1.2. Sentence completeness

A large number of incomplete sentences were found with different sentence elements omitted, including subject, verb, and object. The meaning, however, can be reconstituted easily.

Missing subject and impersonal expression:

Включить в план здоровье (8aif89/3b)

Vkliuchit' v plan zdorov'ie

'[We have to/ it is necessary] to include health in the plan'

Missing verb:

Новая картина И. Глазунова глазами А.Никонова и А.Бильжо
(33ogon99/3d)

Novaia kartina I. Glazunova glazami A Novikova i A.Bil'zho

A new picture by I. Glazunov through the eyes of A. Novikov and A.
Bil'zho

Missing object:

Факты обвиняют (5aif79/3j)

Fakty obviniaut

'Facts blame'

4.5.3.1.3 Sentence complexity

By their construction, headlines were divided into simple and complex sentences; the latter were further subdivided into coordinate and subordinate sentences. In complex sentences the verb was analyzed for the main clause. In cases where the main clause of the complex sentence was missing, the verb in the subordinate (independent) clause was analysed.

Simple sentence:

Регионы забирают власть (10aif99/3c)

Regiony zabiraiut vlast'

'Regions are taking over power'

Co-ordinate sentence:

Поют мотивно, а слушать противно (7aif99/3f)

Poiut motivno, a slushat' protivno

'They are singing tunefully but it is unpleasant to listen to it'

Subordinate clause (independent sentence):

Для чего нужен призрак «советской угрозы» (3aif79/3m)

Dlia chego nuzhen prizrak 'sovetskoi ugrozy

'What is the specter of Soviet threat needed for'

In order to distinguish between elliptical sentences (see 4.4.3.1.2) on the one hand and sentences where recovery of the meaning is not easily possible the term *block language* has been added. The term was coined by earlier researchers (Straumann, 1935; Mardh, 1980) and was used for various truncated parts of text. Where more than the verb *to be* would have to be added in the studied sample, the headline was placed in the block category.

Пережиток (3aif89/3a)
Perezhitok
 ‘Anachronism’

В интересах мира и разрядки (6aif79/1a)
V interesakh mira I razriadki
 ‘In the interests of peace and détente’

Добровольно ...(43aif89/3a)
Dobrovol'no ...
 ‘Voluntarily...’

In the cases where the verb *to be* or the impersonal *there is/are* could be added, the headline was classified as a simple sentence:

Биоспутник в полете (260izv89/3c)
Biosputnik v polete
 ‘Biosputnik [is] in orbit’

Нравственный выбор и возможность выбирать (11ogon89/2a)
Nravstvennyi vybor i vozmozhnost' vybirat'
 ‘[There is] moral choice and an opportunity to choose’

4.5.3.1.4 Verbal categories

Verbal categories catalogue different forms of verbs found in the headlines. Included here are sentences with active and passive forms, elliptical *be*, different forms used for expressing the passive function, such as reflexive forms and 3rd person plural without the pronoun, gerunds and infinitive forms. Czech modal verbs, e.g. *mít* in the sense of ‘should’ were included among the full verbs. The three examples below illustrate headlines with full verb, gerund and passive:

Крымские татары получают паспорта (25izv99/4e)
Krymskie tatary poluchaiut pasporta
 ‘Crimean Tatars are receiving passports’

Отвечая насущным интересам народов (7aif79/3a)

Otvechaia nasushchnym interesam naroda

‘Responding to the real interests of the people...’

Генерала Шпигуна держат в Урус-Мартане (49izv99/4a)

Generala Shpiguna derzhat v Urus-Martane

‘General Shpigun is held in Urus-Martan

4.5.3.2. Strategies affecting style

In the very competitive world of the print media, many strategies have been used to attract readers. Stylistic means such as wordplay and rhetorical figures lend themselves admirably to the task. Both western and Russian researchers noted the use of language play as a means of attracting attention (Dijk van, 1991; Lazareva, 1989; Pyykkö, 1995). Such elements make the language of headlines more vivid, even intriguing.

4.5.3.2.1 Playing with language

Language play involves many possibilities. Polysemy and homonymy, in examples of headlines below, illustrate such play with/on words:

Война полушарий. Вы – её герои и жертвы (4ogon99/1a)

Vojna polusharii. Vy – ieio geroi i zhertvy

‘**The war of the hemispheres. You are its heroes and its victims**’

The initial understanding could involve the economic struggle between different parts of the world. However, this headline is accompanied by a picture of the two hemispheres of the human brain, so offering the reader medical discourse as well as geographical one. This suggests different possibilities for the interpretation of the headline.

In the headline below, *ispanka* is a homonym, meaning ‘a Spanish woman’ as well as an old-fashioned word for ‘influenza’.

Тайна испанки. Любовь и грипп бессмертны (7ogon99)

Taina ispanki. Liubov' i gripp bessmertny

‘**The mystery of flu/Spanish woman. Love and flu are immortal**’

(‘**The Mystery of Flo. Love and Flu are Immortal**’)

Word order, although usually treated as a part of syntax, has been included here as a feature of language play, because it offers a different emphasis and so can subtly alter the meaning of the headline e.g.

Зюганову Ельцин нужен (11aif99/3d).

Ziuganovu Yel'tsin nuzhen

To Ziuganov Yeltsin is necessary = Ziuganov does need Yeltsin'

The word order in Russian, compared to English, is relatively free. This can be exploited to express varied shades of meaning. The neutral, unmarked word order is subject-verb-object (SVO) but by changing it here into OSV, a greater emphasis on the verb phrase is given.

However, emphasis can also be achieved by other means, as for example in the following headline which uses the particle *zhe* translated here as emphatic 'then':

Сколько же дней в отпуске? (24aif99/2a)

Skol'ko zhe dnej v otpuske?

'How many days are there in a holiday then?'

Other features included in word play were rhymes, alliteration, use of words with the same root, incrustations, unusual collocations and so on. The two examples below show a rhyming headline and a headline with words with the same root:

Ваххабиты биты (153 izv99/1a)

Vakhabity bity

'The Vakhabites have been beaten (back)'

Реклама без рекламаций (36ogon89/2a)

Reklama bez reklamatsii

'Advertisement without the claim for replacement'

The same root words are found in the following headline, too.

Загадка крутизны Игоря Крутого (18aif99/3i)

Zagadka krutizny Igoria Krutogo

'Mysteries of Igor 'Krutoi's toughness'

('Mysteries of Igor Tough's toughness')

Krutoi and *krutizna* are slang expressions meaning 'tough' and 'toughness' although originally *krutoi* meant 'steep'.

Russian often creates new words with the help of prefixes and suffixes. This method can also be used in a playful way:

Воронежские злоключения камчатских школьников (153 izv99/2a)
Voronezhskie zlokliucheniia kamchatskikh shkol'nikov
'Mal-ventures of Kamchatka schoolchildren in Voronezh'

In this headline, the word *prikliuchenia* 'adventures' has been changed. The first syllable *pri-* was replaced by the noun *zlo* badness, evil, so changing the generally positive word into one with negative evaluation.

Unusual expressions and collocations can surprise the readers, add piquancy or certain lyricism to the headlines: The line between unusual collocations and recent or original metaphors is very faint, (for discussion see below and also chapter 5):

Студия, о которой молчат (34ogon89/2a)
Studiia, o kotoroi molchat
'A studio, which people are silent about'

Мелодия живописи 41ogon89/2a
Melodiia zhivopisi
'The melody of painting'

Воздушная палитра (48ogon89/2d)
Vozdushnaia palitra
'Airy palette'

Incrustations¹³⁷ - expressions from other languages not transliterated into Russian, for example English words printed in the Latin alphabet within the Russian headline - are also used as an unusual word play:

Интервью с Iron Maiden (12aif99/3f)
Interviu s Iron Maiden
'An Interview with the Iron Maiden'

4.5.3.2.2 Rhetorical figures

Rhetorical figures are elements which make headlines more attractive and fresh (Alexander, 1986). Among the most popular are metaphors which are based on similitude. As Wales (2001:250) states, "when words are used in metaphoric senses, one field or domain of reference is carried over or mapped onto another on the basis of some perceived similarity between the two fields".

¹³⁷ Term used by Mustonen, op. cit.

Белый воротничок против черной кепки. Все, что вы хотели знать о Кириенко, но боялись спросить (37ogon99/1a).

Belyi vorotnichok protiv chernoi kepki. Vse, chto vy khoteli znat' o Kiriienko, no boialis' sprositi'

'The white collar against the black cap. All that you wanted to know about Kirienko but were afraid to ask'

The headline above uses two images, familiar to Russian readers. One is of Luzhkov, the mayor of Moscow in 1999, who wore a black cap. The black cap is linked with the image of Lenin who also wore a black cap; various connotations can be invoked: Luzhkov as a man with power, as a traditional politician, as the man of the people. Kirienko, a young technocrat, who for a few months served as Russian premier, has generally been depicted in suits and white shirts. The white collar has various associations; one is of a well brought up, well behaved, 'proper' young man. The headline then juxtaposes two powerful men standing for different ideas and from different backgrounds.

Metonymy uses a word or phrase for another to which it bears an important relation, the effect for the cause, the abstract for the concrete; a referent is replaced by the name of one of its attributes, etc, (Wales, 2001:252)):

Разбойничья агрессия Пекина (3aif79/1a)

Razboinich'ia agressiia Pekina

'Plundering aggression of Peking'

Peking, now Beijing, the capital of China, is the seat of the Chinese government; thus the name of the city is used instead of the phrase *Chinese government*. It is a kind of short-hand.

A figure related to metonymy is synecdoche, which uses a part to stand for the whole and the whole for a part (ibid):

«Голоса» на службе психологической войны (5aif79/3e)

"Golosa" na sluzhbe psikhologicheskoi voiny

""Voices"" in the service of psychological war'

'Voices' stood for the capitalist West. The reference is to the western broadcasts by the radio stations 'Free Europe', 'Voice of America' and 'Deutsche Stelle' whose 'voices' targeted the Soviet audience and attempted to influence the listeners. During the cold war period they were popularly and jokingly known as 'enemy voices'.

Rhetorical question is one for which an answer is not expected since it is already known to the addresser and cannot be denied. It is often used to appeal to the listener's/reader's reason (Wales, 2001:346). The question is posed not to gain information but to assert more emphatically the obvious answer to what is asked, for example:

Разве учеба – не труд? (29a89/3b)
Razve ucheba – ne trud?
'Surely, learning is work?'

4.5.3.2.3 Evaluation

Evaluation is also a stylistic strategy and it is an important feature of newspaper language. Evaluative words¹³⁸ are 'words which have connotations of approval or disapproval and thus can affect our emotions' (Wales, 2001:139); they are 'expression[s] of speaker's attitude' (Crystal, 1997, s.v.). Such words allow the journalists to express their feelings and opinions and can serve as an indicator of their ideological beliefs (van Dijk, 1991:53). Evaluation is used in order to establish value, express opinion or judgement about value or significance of something (Ozhegov, 1992, s.v.). Evaluation can be explicit and implicit: explicit evaluation is overt even if the word stands alone, implicit evaluation is only felt in context (Solganik 1981:28).

Headlines in this study have been classified as positively evaluative when they included overtly positive lexical items, e.g. *bravery*, or when there were overt positive markers, e.g. *mighty factor of progress*. In cases where lexical items were considered positive by contemporary lexicographers e.g. 'Leninism' (Ozhegov, 1984, s.v.) they were also classified as positively evaluative:

За мужество в космическом полёте (105izv79/2a)
Za muzhestvo v kosmicheskom polete
'For bravery during space flight'

СЭВ – могучий фактор экономического прогресса (1aif79/2a)
SEV – moguchii factor ekonomicheskogo progressa
'COMECON is a mighty factor of economic progress'

¹³⁸ Hansen (1998) uses the term *descriptive characterization* for words that contain judgments about the actors or perpetrators within their denotative and connotative meanings.

Ленинизм – революционное знамя нашей эпохи (4aif79/1a).
Leninism –revoliutsionnoie znamia nashej epokhi
‘Leninism is the revolutionary banner of our epoch’

The same criteria were applied for negative explicit evaluation. Negative markers - the organisation described as a tool of ‘aggression and reaction’ - give the headline below negative evaluation.

Североатлантический блок – орудие агрессии и реакции (6aif79/2a)
Severoatlanticheskii blok – orudiie agressii I reaktsii
‘The North Atlantic Block is a tool of aggression and reaction’

The word *kapital* ‘capital’ can serve as an example of implicit negative evaluation in headlines that appeared in 1979. Although neutral in The OED and in The Oxford Russian-English dictionary (1980, s.v.), in Ozhegov (1984:229), it is glossed as cost or value, - *stoimost* - which in capitalism is the means of acquiring additional profit by means of exploitation of the hired labour. Context also plays an important role:

Капитал против демократии (1aif79/3h)
Kapital protiv demokratii,
‘Capital against democracy’

Миром капитала ширится размах классовых битв (11aif79/1a)
Mirom kapitala shiritsia razmakh klassovykh bitv
‘A sweep of class battles spreads through the capitalist world’

Such expressions refer to capitalist countries or to powerful groupings in the capitalist countries and are therefore seen as negatively evaluative in the context of Soviet ideology. Several other lexical items are treated in Ozhegov dictionary in a similar way although not specifically marked as negative, they are described in such a way as to convey the negative evaluation. Among these are the words *bourgeois*, *imperialist* and *capitalism* and they have been marked as implicitly negatively evaluative in the collected corpus for 1979 and 1989.

The importance of context cannot be underestimated. Words such as *pasynok* ‘stepson’ can also carry a negative evaluation¹³⁹. However, in a headline below, the evaluation through a metaphor is turning the ‘stepsons’ into victims of the

¹³⁹ Stepparents (stepmother) and stepchildren (stepdaughter, stepson) tend to be rather stereotyped as ‘baddies’ especially in fairy tales, e.g. Cinderella.

society rather than showing them as stereotypically negative and the society is put in the role of the wicked stepparent:

Пасынки буржуазного общества (3aif79/3h)

Pasynki burzhuaznogo obshchestva

‘Stepsons of the bourgeois society’

Derivational suffixes can also be used in turning neutral words into positively or negatively evaluative words. This can be illustrated by the word *koniunkturshchina* in the headline below. The neutral form of the word is *koniunktura*; the suffix added to the root and placed before the ending *-a* in order to create the new evaluative word is *-shchin-*; this forms the evaluative word *koniunkturshchina*¹⁴⁰.

Под пятой конъюктурщины (9ogon89/2b)

Pod piatoi koniunkturshchiny

Under *koniunkturshchina*’s thumb (~ In the grip of trash publishing)

Here *koniunkturshchina* stands for any opportunistic, unprincipled means of making easy money, such as publishing and selling literary trash.

Sometimes it will depend on the readers’ own position and understanding whether they interpret a headline as evaluative or not:

Уроки забастовки (33aif89/1a).

Uroki zabastovki

‘Lessons from the strike’

In this case it is possible to see it as a positive or a negative evaluation, depending on whether the readers are in favour of, or against, strikes and how they interpret the word *lessons*, i.e. what exactly they are going to learn from these lessons.

In order to see whether there has been a change in attitude towards the own and/or other countries/societies, the category *evaluation reference* has been included to reveal any changing attitudes between Soviet and post-Soviet society and any potential shift in ideological bias. References to the socialist countries, the Soviet Union, Russia and China as well as the Western European countries and the USA receive particular attention.

¹⁴⁰ The Russian preposition ‘under’ requires a genitive case, hence *koniunkturshchiny* in the original.

4.5.3.2.4 Language formality

Language formality, or register, was included in order to find out whether there have been changes in this area. In view of the disagreements among the Soviet/Russian scholars concerning the differences between *razgovornyi iazyk* and *prostorechie* the decision was made that *razgovornyi* will be marked as informal and *prostorechie* as colloquial. Four other categories were included, neutral, bookish or high, zhargon and residue. Ozhegov (1984, 1992), *The Oxford Russian–English Dictionary* (1980, 1997), *Dictionary of non-standard Russian* (2003) and Kuznetsov (2004) were used to ascertain the level of formality at different times. For Czech, Poldauf (1968) and Fronek (1998 and 2000) were used.

Neutral lexis:

Почему наши богатые такие бедные? (42aif99/1a)

Pochemu nashi bogatye takie bednye?

‘Why are our rich [people] so poor?’

High/bookish lexis:

К новым свершениям (305izv79/2a)

K novym sversheniiam

‘To new deeds’

Победная поступь пятилеток (4aif79/3a)

Pobednaia postup’ piatiletok

‘Victorious march of the five-year plans’

Informal lexis:

Казенных трусов не выдают даже президенту (42aif99/3i)

Kazennykh trusov ne vydaiut dazhe prezidentu

‘Even the president can’t get state issue underpants’

Colloquial lexis

Пиночет- это в кайф! (39aif99/3i)

Pinochet – eto v kAiF!

‘Pinochet – that’s great/ that’s fun!’

The expression *v kaif* has changed its meaning in the beginning of the 21st century. Whereas originally it was seen as a colloquial expression for the idea of relaxation and fun, in more recent years it has been classed as merely informal in this sense of enjoying oneself, and the colloquial expression is specific to drug-induced euphoria.

*Zhargon*¹⁴¹:

На Соловки сейчас отправляют за баксы (37aif99/3e)

Na Solovki seichas otpravliaiut za baksy

‘People pay greenbacks to be sent to Solovki prison’

‘Baksy’¹⁴² is a *zhargon* expression for American dollars; *Solovki* is an infamous Soviet/Russian prison. Apparently foreign nationals could purchase a short stay in this prison for hard currency as an unusual, though illegal holiday¹⁴³.

Lexical formality also includes the category ‘other’ or ‘residue’ where regional and obsolete expressions (e.g. *studenogo*) and sovietisms (e.g. *chotkii ritm*) have been placed:

У студеного моря (140izv79/4f)

U studenogo moria

‘By the cold sea’

Четкий ритм полевых работ (125izv79/4c)

Chotkii ritm polevykh rabot

‘Brisk rhythm of field work’

For Czech, headlines participles and certain expressions such as *již* instead of *už* have been classified as formal. *Hovorové výrazy* were marked as informal.

4.5.3.3 Abbreviations

The presence or absence of abbreviations is also studied. The use of old and new acronyms offers a glimpse into both linguistic and social changes that have affected the language community over the two decades under scrutiny, for example :

ЛЭП¹⁴⁴ шагает по барханам (130izv79/4c)

LEP shagaet po barkhanam

‘EPL marches across the sand dunes’

¹⁴¹ For the difference between jargon and *zhargon* see chapter 3

¹⁴² The word is interesting also from morphological point of view. *Baks* (from the US slang *bucks* meaning *dollars*) is already in the plural form, but the Russian plural ending *-y* has been added, following the established pattern applied to earlier borrowings e.g. *boots* which became *butsy* in Russian.

¹⁴³ The headline may have served as inspiration for the plot of a detective story (Dontsova, 2002).

¹⁴⁴ LEP is the abbreviation for *Liniiia elektropredachi* and it stands for Electric Power Line; PLO – Palestinian Liberation Organisation; TsB - Tsentral’nyi Bank stands for Central Bank; ÚKRRK KSČ - ústřední kontrolní a revizní komise Komunistické strany Československa stands for Central Control and Audit Commission of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia

Как готовился диалог США-ООП (15izv89/3b)

Kak gotovilsia dialog SSHA-OOP

‘How the dialogue USA-PLO was prepared’

Виктор Геращенко раскрывает секреты ЦБ

Viktor Gerashchenko rasskryvaet sekrety TsB (39aif99/3a).

‘Viktor Gerashchenko reveals secrets about the Central Bank’

Zasedáni ÚKRRK KSC (64rp79/3b)

‘Meeting of the CCAC CPC’

Words such as *gosduma* and *sberbank* are also treated as abbreviations, although strictly speaking they are blends or *univerbaty* (Ferm, 1994:55).

Бюджетный подкомитет Госдумы за увеличение расходов на оборону (1izv99/4c)

Biudzhetni podkomitet Gosdumy za uvelichenie raskhodov na oboronu

‘The budget subcommittee of the State Duma in favour of increasing defence spending’

In cases where abbreviation is given as initials and dotted, it is still treated as an abbreviation.

И.о.генпрокурора взял следствие под свой контроль (81 izv99/3c)

I.o. genprokurora vzial sledstvie pod svoi kontrol’

‘[The person] performing the duties of the procurator general took over the control of the investigation ‘

4.5.4 Non-exclusive content strategies

Three subgroups have been placed within this section: these are the category of news/social actor, news actors’ number, gender, occupation and nationality; the category of subject matter and the category of intertextuality.

4.5.4.1 The category of actor

The presence of a news or social actor in a headline generally increases readers’ interest in the article (EIM¹⁴⁵, 1999) whether the actor is named as an individual or whether several are mentioned as a group. News actors can be presented as agents or doers, for this group the term *affectors* is used in this study; they can also be affected by events, seen as beneficiaries or victims, *affecteds* in this study.

¹⁴⁵ EIM - The European Institute for the Media

* ?

In both cases the selection, prominence and labelling are significant. Lexical choices may play an important role in identifying news actors.

Following van Dijk (1991:147) news actors have been categorised as individuals or groups, with separate classes for named individuals and for generic terms. Their role, i.e. whether they were the originators of an action or whether they were affected by it - *effectors* and *affecteds* - their number, gender, nationality and their occupation have been noted. The location of the actor within the headline was also specified, in the main headline, other headline (strapline or subhead) or both.

In the examples below *mat* 'mother', *Lebediu* 'Lebed' and *pasyнки* 'stepsons' were classified as effectors (irrespective of their grammatical position, or type of headline – topic-naming or summary), *son* as affected.

Мать убила единственного сына (8aif99/1a)

Mat' ubila iedinstvennogo syna

'Mother killed her only son'

Лебедю трудно быть губернатором (8aif99/3e)

Lebediu trudno byt' gubernatorom

'Lebed' finds it hard to be governor'

Пасынки буржуазного общества (3aif79/3)

Pasyнки burzhnaznogo obshchestva

'Stepsons of the bourgeois society'

Some headlines introduced actors in the main headline and in the strapline or subhead; on occasion effectors and affecteds of various types were present at the same time. Thus an order of precedence had to be set: When there were actors in both the main and other headlines, only the one in the main headline was analysed for gender, nationality and occupation. Similarly, if the headline consisted of two equally prominent sentences, then only the actor in the first sentence was analysed for gender, nationality and occupation¹⁴⁶:

М.С.Горбачев в Финляндии

Беседа с М. Койвисто (300izv89/1a)

M.S.Gorbachev v Finliandii

Beseda s M.Koivisto

¹⁴⁶ Distortion of the final analysis or non-inclusion in the main statistical data would occur, see footnote ¹³¹ of this chapter (p.110)

‘M.S. Gorbachev in Finland
Interview with M. Koivisto’

МОК пошатнулся, Смирнов устоял (7aif99/3e)
МОК poshatnulsia, Smirnov ustoiat
‘IOC (International Olympic Committee) shook, Smirnov survived’

Where two actors appeared in the same headline (in the same sentence) and one was affector and the other affected, then the affector was analysed for those same categories:

Юрий Любимов собирает «на Таганке» неизвестных актеров и делает из них звезд (36ogon99/1a)
Iurii Liubimov sobiraet ‘na Taganke’ neizvestnykh akterov I delaet iz nikh zvezd
‘Iurii Liubimov collects unknown actors for his theatre *Na Taganke* and turns them into stars’

In cases of quotations, the person to whom the quotation was attributed was assigned to the category of affector. When the quotation itself also contained either an affector or an affected, the order of precedence was used as above, affector before affected. Thus in the quotation below there are two affectors:

Л.Гуревич: “Козленок мне не брат” (9aif99/3b)
L.Gurevich: “Kozlenok mne ne brat”
‘L.Gurevich: “Kozlenok is no brother of mine” ’

4.5.4.1.1 Affectors and affecteds

Affectors and affecteds were divided into 1) named individuals, 2) generic terms 3) organisations, 4) nation(s)/people(s), 5) countries and 6) others.

1) Named individuals (Ryzhkov – affector; Yeltsin –affected):

Владимир Рыжков о бессмысленности выборов в России (7aif99/3b)
Vladimir Ryzhkov o bessmyslennosti vyborov v Rossii
‘Vladimir Ryzhkov about the senselessness of elections in Russia’

Как писали речи для Ельцина (8aif99/3d)
Kak pisali rechi dlia Yeltsina
‘How speeches for Yeltsin were written (How they wrote speeches for Yeltsin)’

Vocatives were treated as affecteds as they were addressed, praised, asked for help etc.:

1) Vocative, named individual

Спасибо, Наташа! (16ogon89/1a)
Spasibo, Natasha!
‘Thanks, Natasha!’

2) Generic terms:

Советские профсоюзы в управлении государством (1aif793d)
Sovietskie profsoiuzy v upravlenii gosudarstvom
‘Soviet Trade Unions in the management of the state’ (affecter)

Досье ... на школьников (3aif79/3j)
Dos'ie ... na shkol'nikov
‘Dossier ... on schoolchildren’ (affected)
Обращение Л.И.Брежнев к президенту Пакистана (35izv79/3a)
Obrashchenie L.I.Brezhneva k prezidentu Pakistana
‘Address of L.I.Brezhnev to the president of Pakistan’
(‘L.I.Brezhnev addresses the President of Pakistan’) (affected)

Отлично, монтажники! (305izv79/4c)
Otlichno, montazhniki!
‘Well done, fitters!’ (vocative, affected)

The actors in Russian impersonal sentences have been classified as affecteds:

Расистам нет места в спортивном движении (7aif79/3n).
Rasistam net mesta v sportivnom dvizhenii
‘There is no place for racists in sporting movement’ (affected)

3) Organisations (this grouping includes governments, firms, banks, parties, organised movements and regimes etc.; *Mafia* in headline below):

Мафия – орудие империализма (4aif79/2b)
Mafia – orudie imperializma
‘Mafia is a tool of imperialism’ (affected)

4) Nations and peoples included words such as *narod*, *natsiia*, *indejtsy*, *rossiiane* ‘peoples’, ‘nation’, ‘Indians’, ‘Russians’:

Индейцы против мятежников (305izv89/4d)
Indejtsy protiv miatezhnikov
‘The Indians against the rebels’ (affecter)

5) Countries/states were separated from nations and peoples:

В одном из параллельных миров Россия – владычица мира
(27ogon99/3b)
V odnom iz paralel'nykh mirov Rossia – vladychitsa mira
‘In one of the parallel worlds Russia is the ruler of the world’ (affecter)

Чечню собираются трясти? (4aif99/3i)

Chechniu sobiraiutsia triasti?

‘Are they getting ready to shake Chechnia?’ (affected)

6) In a number of headlines a noun phrase was used with the actor in the genitive case, as in the examples below. In many cases, however, such nominal phrases were used as a shorthand way of saying that the actor had carried out a certain action, e.g. arrived, gave a speech, observed somebody etc. Thus these headlines were classified as having an actor, either an affector or an affected, depending on circumstances.

Named individual, affector:

Прибытие М.С.Горбачева в Берлин (280izv89/3b)

Pribytie M.S.Gorbacheva v Berlin

‘Arrival of M.S.Gorbachev in Berlin’ or ‘M.S.Gorbachev arrives in Berlin’

Generic term, affected:

Съезд и сессия глазами телезрителей и психологов (32a89/1a)

S’iezd I sessiia glazami telezritelej i psikhologov

‘The Congress and session through the eyes of TV viewers and psychologists’ or

‘The Congress and session as TV viewers and psychologists see them’

Named individual, affected:

Новое назначение Шабдурасулова (165izv99/4a)

Novoie naznacheniiie Shabdurasulova

‘A new appointment for Shabdurasulov’ or ‘Shabdurasulov in a new post’

4.5.4.1.2 Number

The number of actors has also been categorised: one, two or more (a specific number), a separate group of ‘unspecified’ for generalisations, and other.

One named actor:

Скуратов вылетел в Швейцарию (113 izv99/4c)

Skuraton vyletel v Shvejtsariiu

‘Skuraton flew to Switzerland’

Specific number above one (here two named individuals):

Леонид Брежнев и Шон Коннери слышали один и тот же голос из тьмы (28ogon99/2a)

Leonid Brezhnev i Shon Konneri slyshali odin I tot zhe golos iz t’mu

‘Leonid Brezhnev and Sean Connery heard the same voice from the dark’

Unspecified number:

«Черные метки» для олигархов готовы (29ogon99/1a)
“Chernyie metki” dlia oligarkhov gotovy
“‘The black spots’ for the oligarchs are ready’

Агент и слуга капитала (4aif79/3g)
Agent i sluga kapitala
‘Agent and servant of big business’

The ‘agent/servant’ could have been one person; it could have been a generalisation (agents and servants...) or even an organisation. The category also includes cases such as ‘the countries of Africa’.

4.5.4.1.3 Gender and age

The category of gender has been divided into male and female. A broad age distinction has also been made, separating adults and children:

Как реально помочь женщине? (9aif89/1a)
Kak real’no pomoch’ zhenshchine?
‘How to give a woman real help?’

Во что оденутся мужчины 2000 года?(7aif99/3g)
Vo chto odenutsia muzhchiny 2000 goda?
‘What will men wear in the year 2000?’

Headlines in which *woman/women* and *man/men* were specified were placed in category [F/M] adults (as is the case below) or [F/M] children:

Чем мужчина отличается от женщины? (20aif99/3e)
Chem muzhchina otlichaetsia ot zhenshchiny?
‘What makes a man different from a woman?’

Fuzziness occurred with generic nouns. If the generic noun was accompanied by the past tense which in Russian and Czech agrees with the noun in gender and number, the classification was straight forward. In the headline below the *Procurator General* was a man because the verb *poobeshchal* ‘promised’ is in the masculine singular form¹⁴⁷:

¹⁴⁷ However, in formal situations grammar still outweighs gender, so had the procurator been a woman the verb ending would not have changed. In less formal settings the verb ending would change. (university professor, 2006, personal communication)

Генпрокурор пообещал отчитаться перед Советом федерации (29 izv99/4b)

Genprokuror poobeshchal otchitat'sia pered Sovetom federatsii

'The Procurator General promised to report to the Council of the Federation'

Names tend to help in assigning gender, too, as does the context. In the headline below, the surnames are in the masculine forms, with masculine ending (instrumental singular) for Shevchuk, and the verb is in the masculine singular form:

Как Расторгуев чуть с Шевчуком не подрался (1aif99/2c)

Kak Rastorguiev chut' s Shevchukom ne podral'sia

'How Rastorguiev almost fought with Shevchuk'

If the headline deals with the American president or the Russian president, these are classified as males because in the period studied these posts were held by males. If the situation is not clear, as below (the reader is not told whether this is the case in Russia or some other country), then category *unspecified adult* applies:

В отсутствии закона решение принимает президент (13izv99/4a)

V otsutstvii zakona resheniie prinimaet president

'In the absence of law decision is made by the president'

Generic nouns in the singular and plural that can represent males or females, e.g. *master*, *owner*, *musician* as well as the plural forms, *politicians*, *sociologists* (unless clearly female or male, e.g. *mothers*), etc. have been classified as *unspecified adult*.

Мало селян среди депутатов (16a89/3a)

Malo selian sredi deputatov

'There are few villagers among the deputies'

The same pattern was followed for children:

Досье ... на школьников (3a79/3j)

Doss'e ...na shkol'nikov

'Dossier ...on schoolchildren' (unspecified child(ren))

Nations¹⁴⁸ and peoples have been assigned to [F/M] adult/child category while organisations, countries and states have been classified as of no gender.

¹⁴⁸ Nation – a community of people of mainly common descent, history, language etc. OED (1996) s.v. : 963

4.5.4.1.4 Nationality

Nationality of actors has been classified as follows: ‘Soviet’/‘Russian’, when the word ‘Soviet’/‘Russian’ was used in the headline:

Советские люди горячо одобряют обращение ЦК КПСС к избирателям (30izv79/1a)

Sovietskie liudi goriacho odobriaiut obrashcheniie TsK KPSS k izbirateliām

‘The Soviet people passionately approve the address to the electors by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR’

The label ‘other’ was applied when another nationality was used e.g. Chinese, Palestinian, Chechen etc. and ‘not given’ when the statement was of a more general nature and did not specify nationality. An exception was made for well-known heads of government, e.g. Soviet general secretaries and Russian and American presidents. When a headline named a Russian or Soviet actor as well as an/other, e.g. Brezhnev and Connery or the USSR and the socialist countries, the headline was classified as Russian/Soviet and other:

Леонид Брежнев и Шон Коннери слышали один и тот же голос из тьмы (28ogon99/2a)

Leonid Brezhnev i Shon Konneri slyshali odin I tot zhe golos iz t'my
‘Leonid Brezhnev and Shaun Connery heard the same voice from the dark’

Cases which did not give the affector’s or affected’s nationality but where it was fairly obvious from the context (by the name, for instance) were assigned to the class of *assumed Russian/ Soviet*¹⁴⁹:

Александр Мамут рассказывает ... (33ogon99/2a)

Aleksandr Mamut rasskazyvaiet...
‘Aleksandr Mamut talks...’

4.5.4.1.5 Occupations

In order to avoid producing a long list of jobs, professions were grouped. For example, medical people were grouped into natural sciences together with geologists and technicians; journalism and media includes people on the board of television stations, many professions were simply called ‘workers’. Writers and composers, including poets, were separated from performing artists, directors and

¹⁴⁹ The full list of categories is in Appendix 2

film-makers. Military people were put in the same class as customs officers, police and spies. If 'peoples' or 'nation' were the affector or affected, the label 'varied' was applied. In politics two groups were set up – domestic and foreign. Where a job was not specified, it was marked as unknown.

If two or more people were present in the headline and their jobs were different, they were classified as other.

Сергей Доренко: «Лена Батурина разогналась и прыгнула на Лужкова» (37ogon99/3a)
Sergei Dorenko: "Lena Baturina razognalas' i prygnula na Luzhkov"
'Sergei Dorenko: "Lena Baturina ran up to Luzhkov and jumped [into his arms]".'

When both affector and affected are present in the headline, the job information is given for the affector only.

Прием Л.И.Брежневым рабочей группы Социалистического интернационала по проблемам разоружения (230izv79/1a)
Priiem L.I. Brezhnevym rabochej gruppy Sotsialisticheskogo internatsionala po problemam razoruzheniia
'L.I.Brezhnev received the working group of the Socialist International dealing with disarmament'

4.5.4.1.6 Excluded cases

Headlines where the subject was a pronoun, *we*, *you*, *they*, *I*, were classified as actor-less due to their unspecificity:

Я – за экономию
Ia –za ekonomiiu(1aif89/3a)
'I am for economising'

The heads where pronoun was only implied have been classified as actor-less (this was much more frequent in the Czech data).

Před límáním ruské miss se bránil pažbou (245rp99/2b)
'[He] defended himself from the caresses of the Russian Miss with the butt of his gun'

4.5.4.2 Subject matter

The category of subject matter should help trace whether subjects absent in the earlier sample(s) made an appearance later, or whether subjects present earlier were sidelined or disappeared altogether, or whether there was continuity in some or all aspects. This might involve previously excluded lexis, for example religious terminology, or show a change of usage. A number of subjects have been selected, including politics, economy (including energy), environment, industry, media, crime, religion, transport and so on. A list is in Appendix 2.

In some cases there was an overlap when the headline dealt with several themes. The first example seemed more strongly related to the military and that is how it was classified. An overlap occurs in the second example also. There is an implicit comparison with the political situation 2000 years ago in Palestine and in contemporary Russia, but as Christ is a religious figure there are religious overtones to the headline. It was therefore included in the religious word field:

Оборонный бюджет приоткрывается (9izv99/3a)

Oboronnyi biudzhet priotkryvaetsia

‘Defence budget becomes a little more transparent’

Иисус Христос пал жертвой олигархов (39ogon99/2a)

Isus Khristos pal zhertvoi oligarkhov

‘Jesus Christ fell victim to the oligarchs’

Problems of classification were encountered in cases where events were taking place outside the countries studied and which seemed to fall into the category of foreign affairs; yet they also had a strong link with another word field. Such events could be seen as foreign policy, or they could be classified by a more detailed topic (e.g. military). In cases of such ambiguity the existence of a link with the USSR/RF or CSSR/CR placed the headline in the foreign policy, the lack of such link into the more specialised topic. As it is not known who is shelling Kabul, the following headline was classified as belonging to the military word field:

Массированный обстрел Кабула (220izv89/4a)

Massirovannyi obstrel Kabula

‘An all-out shelling of Kabul’

Some headlines were rather ambiguous. In the following headline duty and consciousness could be moral, political or judicial; the terms could refer to children's and parents' duties to each other or of citizens to their country. Such headlines were therefore classified as ambiguous.

А.Твардовский. Дело долга и совести (47ogon89/2d)
A. Tvardovskij: Delo dolga I sovesti
'A Tvardovsky: Matter of duty and consciousness'

4.5.4.3 Intertextuality

Intertextuality is a feature where one text alludes in some way to another well-known text. This can be "a transformation of, a quotation from or an allusion to another text" (Wales, 2001:220-1), which ideally is known to both the text writer and the text reader. This knowledge, which reaches beyond the text of the headline, can clarify or obscure, even totally prevent the understanding of the text, or its nuances, e.g.:

«Мы как волки, которых обложили флажками» (12aif99/3a)
"My kak volki , kotorykh oblozhili flazhkami"
' "We are like the wolves surrounded by little flags"'

Unless readers are familiar with the method of wolf hunting, or with Vysotsky's song, *Okhota na volkov*, 'Hunting wolves' in which he describes it, the headline will mean nothing to them.

Another device involves the author playing with the original text. By changing it to some extent or using a part of the original in a different way leads to unusual, often intriguing results, as here:

Правительство осенних цыплят (97izv99/1a)
Pravitel'stvo osennikh tsypliat
'The government of autumn chickens'.

Here the Russian saying *Tsypliat po oseni schitaiut* 'Chickens are counted in the autumn' with the equivalent English idiom 'Don't count your chickens before they are hatched' is used as a base. This is then an elaborate word play which overlaps with intertextuality.

4.5.4.3.1. Quoting headlines

Quoting headlines have been included here as broadly related to intertextuality (Wales, op.cit.:223, 329). They attract readers in several ways. The person whose quotation is offered to the public must be newsworthy in some way, a famous or an infamous personality, for example an actor, a footballer, or a notorious criminal (Bell, 1991:158) or a member of an elite group such as a politician; in that case the name is shown as prominently as the quotation itself:

Александр Лившиц: «Все решится в марте» (3aif99/3b)
Aleksandr Livshits: "Vsio reshitsia v marte"
Alexandr Livshits: 'All will be resolved in March'

People will be attracted to the headline as much, or possibly even more for the person who is quoted than for the content of the quotation.

Readers' attention can also be attracted by offering a very unexpected - outrageous, or frightening – quotation:

Доктор Смерть: «Убивать людей я начал в тюрьме» (17ogon99/2a).
Doktor Smert': "Ubivat' liudei ia nachal v tiur'me"
'Doctor Death: "I began to kill people in prison" '

The name of the originator of the quotation may, but need not be noted, and if it is, the person does not need to be famous or notorious. The attraction lies in the words themselves, not in their author. This is also the case of quotations taken from statements of international bodies, governments or similar organisations:

«Европа доверия, права, открытости» (4aif89/1a)
"Evropa doveriia, prava, otkrytosti"
' "Europe of trust, rights and openness" '

Sometimes both elements – a noteworthy person and striking content - may be found in one and the same headline:

Юрий Лужков: «Сохраним Севастополь!» (5aif99/3c)
Iurii Luzhkov: "Sokhranim Sevastopol!"
'Iurii Luzhkov: "We shall keep Sevastopol!" '

Czech quotation headlines generally do not display inverted commas, so the information is deducted either from the way the headline is set or from the strapline or subhead:

Reagan: Jaderná válka bez vítězů (15rp89/4h)

‘Reagan: Nuclear war without victors’

Novoroční projev generálního tajemníka ÚV KSČ a prezidenta ČSSR G.Husáka

S důvěrou a optimismem do nového roku (1rp79/1a)

‘New year’s day speech of the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia G. Husak

With trust and optimism into the new year’

4.5.5 Typological strategies

Two other strategies have been included. One is the word count - that is the number of words per headline. The second typological strategy is the number of decks. The strategies were chosen as features that could point to varying trends in headline writing. It is possible that more amusing playful headlines might have to be longer or need another deck to clarify ambiguity. On the other hand, a reduced number of words would imply that more topic-naming headlines were offered in order to capture attention, rather than long explanatory multideck headlines.

4.5.5.1 Number of words per headline

Hyphenated words have been counted as one, e.g. *sotsial’no-politicheskii*, *seks-simvol* (1303), as have abbreviations, e.g. *TsRU* ‘CIA’ or *SSSR* ‘the USSR’, even if the abbreviation is made of two or more clusters. This tended to occur more in the Czech abbreviations, e.g. *FS ČSSR*. However, initials of people’s names were counted as separate words, so L.I. Brezhnev counted as three words. Similarly, if the letters of the abbreviation were separated by stops, each letter was counted as a word:

И.о.генпрокурора ... (81 izv99/3c)

I.o. genprokurora ...

‘[The person] performing the duties of the procurator general ...’

Hyphenated expressions made up of words that could stand alone were counted as separate words:

Вузы-самозванцы (2aif99/3g)

Vuzy-samozvantsy

‘Universities – pretenders’

Where figures have been given for numbers e.g. 25 years etc. the figure is counted as one word. Where costs were given, e.g. '\$190 000 000' as in the headline (33ogon99/3a), the dollar sign was counted as a single word and the following figure as one word also even though it was a big figure as here.

When the headline consisted of several decks, words were counted separately in the main headline and the subhead or strapline. If the headline consisted of several equally prominent sentences not arranged in decks, only the words of the first sentence were counted.

4.5.5.2 Decks

A basic opposition has been employed (one deck or more than one deck), with an option 'other' for very complex headlines arranged in an artistic manner (typically a number of headlines in 1999 issues of *Ogonek* where deciding whether one or more decks are present, and which is the prominent one has been difficult). Headlines composed of more than one deck were analysed globally for all strategies except mutually exclusive strategies and syntactic elements - form, completeness and complexity of sentence, and verbal categories. In these cases only the main deck was used in order to limit the number of variables. The same approach was employed when the headline consisted of several sentences not arranged in decks. In such cases the most prominent sentence was analysed in the same way as the main deck in multideck headlines, e.g.

СССР, другие страны социализма указывают путь к разоружению. Ответ за Западом (11aif79 /2c)

SSSR, drugiie strany sotsializma ukazyvaiut put' k razoruzheniiu. Otvet za Zapadom

'The USSR and other socialist countries show the path to disarmament. It is up to the West to respond'

or

Лучший фотограф страны и его девушки (19ogon99/2a)

100% Джус

Премия академии свободной прессы вручена Александру Джусу

Luchshij fotograf strany I iego devushki

100% Dzhus

Premiia akademii svobodnoj pressy vruchena Aleksandru Dzhusu

‘The country’s best photographer and his girls
100% Dzhus
A prestigious award for Aleksandr Dzush’

4.6 SPSS

A statistical package was needed for the quantitative analysis of the different parametres of the headlines studied in the present work. A program called SPSS was chosen. SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) is a powerful tool which automates and speeds up the mathematical processes involved in working with statistical data in quantitative studies. Its great advantage is that it can be used by people who have only a minimal exposure to the statistical procedures. Since its conception, the scope of the program has been extended to include a wide variety of research areas, such as psychological research, various polls and surveys as well as research into language. At its core is a sophisticated database and a number of statistical tests that are used in data analysis. SPSS provides a wide range of procedures for data manipulation and analysis, ranging from simple descriptive statistics such as frequencies to complex relationships between different variables (Kinnear and Gray, 1994).

It is possible to enter numeric as well as non-numerical (alphanumeric characters) data in the database such as gender, rhetorical figures, sentence form etc. though they have to have a numerical equivalent, for example:

1 = female 2 = male
1 = metaphor 2 = simile 3 = metonymy 99 = none etc.

so that the program can manipulate the information. It is very important to enter the collected data in such a way that the program can deal with them. Each case has to have a unique code so that the variables, that is the various properties of each case, can be identified and studied across the publications and across the years.

Over twenty different variables were set up, beginning with the code for each journal, the individual headlines, year of publication, variables dealing with news /social actors such as their gender, occupation and nationality, intertextuality,

rhetorical figures, completeness or otherwise of sentences in the headlines, abbreviations and lexical fields. Within each of the variables possible options were coded, as shown above.

4.7 Summary

In the first section of this chapter the four publications used in the study were presented, with a brief overview of their history, and reasons for their selection were explained. In the subsequent sections the headline corpus collected for the research was described and a coding schedule was provided. A detailed description of the different categories was then undertaken with copious examples illustrating the different strategies, dealing at first with the mutually exclusive strategies and then the non-exclusive strategies. Finally an explanation was offered for the choice of SPSS as the analytical tool for the quantitative analysis. All efforts were made to ensure parity of data and consistency of classification in all the selected fields. In the following chapter the analysis of Russian headlines is undertaken.

5.0 Analysis of the Russian data

5.1 Overview

The aim of this research is to analyse the changes in Russian and Czech headlines and evaluate them. This chapter provides the statistical data derived from the Russian corpus of headlines gathered for the study. The Czech corpus is analysed in chapter 6 and evaluation of the analysed Russian and Czech material together with discussion are located in chapter 7.

After the description of the material in numerical terms in section 5.2, the variation in the use of mutually exclusive strategies are presented in section 5.3. Section 5.4 on non-exclusive strategies is subdivided into three parts: section 5.4.1 deals with language strategies, section 5.4.2 offers information on content strategies and section 5.4.3 examines typological strategies. The investigation focuses predominantly on linguistic means through which the textual and cognitive functions of the headlines have been realised.

Each section is subdivided further. Thus the language strategies section provides statistical information on several linguistic structures: syntactic strategies, (section 5.4.1.1); stylistic strategies and language resources that have been used for a variety of purposes are studied in section 5.4.1.2, including such aspects as rhetorical figures, language formality and evaluative properties of headlines, followed by a section on abbreviations (section 5.4.1.3). The next section deals with non-exclusive content strategies and it is also subdivided. The sociolinguistic category of news/social actors is analysed first (section 5.4.2.1). Section 5.4.2.2 examines the changes in subject matters. Different types of intertextual headlines are analysed next (section 5.4.2.3). Finally, statistical information on the typological strategies is provided – the number of words in headlines (section 5.4.3.1) and the number of decks (section 5.4.3.2). Discussion of the statistical data is offered in chapter 7.

5.2 Description of the Russian corpus in terms of numbers

The two weekly publications *Argumenty i fakty* and *Ogonek* offered almost the same number of headlines – just over 230 - in 1989 but differed widely in the other years. *Argumenty i fakty* appeared monthly in 1979, reprinting material from other Soviet publications. Projected over 52 issues, it would have exceeded somewhat the 608 headlines it offered to its readers in 1999. The large number of headlines in 1999 was the result of the front page restructuring (see chapter 4)

Ogonek relied on pictorial attraction in 1979 and on few but catchy headlines in 1999¹⁵⁰. *Izvestiia* offered a lot of short articles on its front pages in 1979 but reduced the numbers over the years. It also introduced more photographs. This resulted in fewer but more prominent headlines.

In Table 5.1 the numbers of headlines selected for this study and located on the front pages of each chosen Soviet/Russian publication for the three years can be seen.

Name of publication	No of heads collected	Heads per page of sample	No of front pages used in the study	No of issues published that year	Issues selected for study
AiF 1979	136	12.4	11	12	11
AiF 1989	236	4.5	52	52	52
AiF 1999	608	11.7	52	52	52
Total AiF	980				
Ogon 1979	7	0.13	52	52	52
Ogon 1989	234	4.5	52	52	52
Ogon 1999	123	3.1	40	40	40
Total Ogon	364				
Izv 1979	750	12.3	61	305	Every 5th
Izv 1989	603	8.3	73	365	Every 5th
Izv 1999	582	9.4	62	247	Every 4th
Total Izv	1935				
Total	3279				

Table 5. 1: Number of Russian front page headlines per publication per year

¹⁵⁰ Because of financial constraints, only 40 issues were published in 1999, thus further reducing the number of headlines for that year.

5.3 Headline infrastructure: mutually exclusive strategies¹⁵¹

Attracting readers' attention is a very important role of a newspaper headline in modern times, as the literature review showed. This can be done in different ways and one of them is through the headline infrastructure which helps to organise the text. There are different types of infrastructures called here mutually exclusive strategies.

Several strategies have been identified in the selected publications and their occurrence has been systematically analysed at three different periods over a span of two decades. When the Russian corpus is examined as a whole, the strategy that emerges as the most frequent is topic(-naming) clear with 39.2%, the second is summary clear with 29.2% and topic(-naming) obscure with 13.1%. The remainder of the identified strategies remains in single figures. Table 5.2 illustrates the trends of these strategies. Over the period two strategies, summary clear and erotetic, gained ground, and all the other strategies were employed less often.

Mutually exclusive strategies	Year of publication					
	1979		1989		1999	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Topic clear	478	53.5%	522	48.6%	285	21.7%
Summary clear	166	18.6%	210	19.6%	575	43.8%
Topic obscure	143	16.0%	145	13.5%	140	10.7%
Erotetic	3	0.3%	87	8.1%	199	15.2%
All other strategies	103	11.5%	109	10.2%	114	8.6%
	893	100%	1073	100%	1313	100%

Table 5. 2: Trends for the most numerous strategies

5.3.1 Topic- naming headlines

The topic-naming headlines merely name the topic; there is no additional information, e.g.:

Советская печать (105izv79/1a)
Sovetskaia pechat'
'The Soviet Press'

¹⁵¹ Mutually exclusive strategies are strategies that provide an infrastructure for the linguistic resources of the headline. They have been so named because only one can be applied to a headline at any one time. Cf. section 4.5.2

The most noticeable trend has been the decrease in the use of clear topic-naming headlines over this period, for all three publications between 1989 and 1999 and from *AiF* and *Izvestiia* also between 1979 and 1989, although the drop was small, see Figure 5.1.

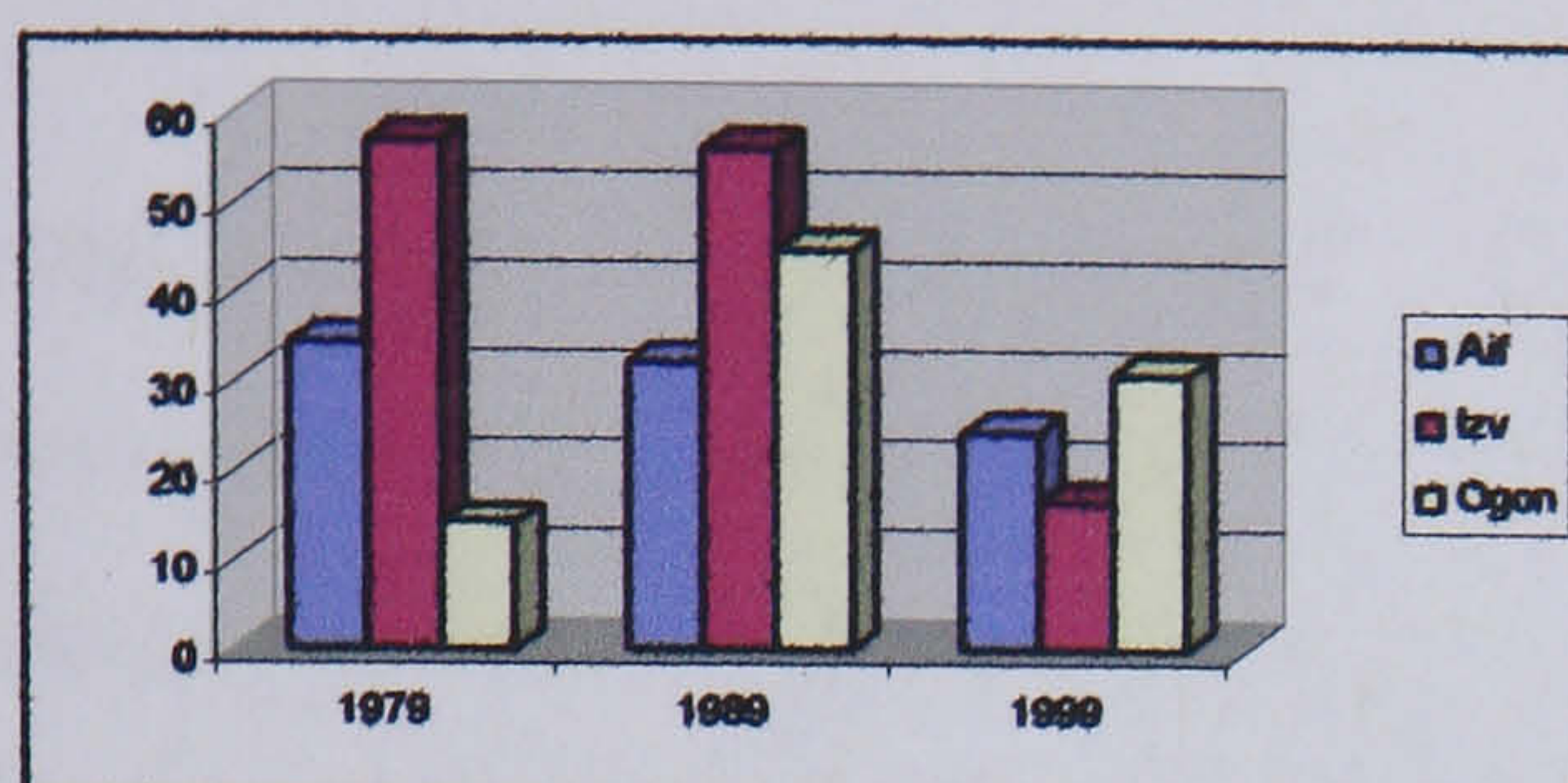


Figure 5.1: Topic clear x year x publication

A more detailed analysis shows that in 1979 almost 35% of all headlines in *AiF* fell into the topic-naming category (see Table 5.3 below). In 1989 the percentage was at a little over 32% and in 1999 it was 24.7%.

Year of publication	Name of publication	Mutually Exclusive Strategies							
		topic clear	topic obscure	summary clear	summary obscure	erotic	exclamation	wish	other
1979	AiF %	34.6%	30.9%	30.1%	2.2%	1.5%	0.7%	0%	0%
	Count	47	42	41	3	2	1	0	0
	Ogon %	14.3%	28.6%	42.9%	0%	0%	0%	14.3%	0%
	Count	1	2	3	0	0	0	1	0
	Izv %	57.3%	13.2%	16.3%	2.8%	0.1	3.5%	2.7%	4.1%
	Count	430	99	122	21	1	26	20	31
	Total %	53.5%	16.0%	18.6%	2.7%	0.3%	3.0%	2.4%	3.4%
	Count	478	143	166	24	3	27	21	31
1989	AiF %	32.2%	16.5%	16.5%	5.5%	16.5%	2.5%	1.3%	8.9%
	Count	76	39	39	13	39	6	3	21
	Ogon %	44.9%	28.6%	9.0%	1.3%	9.0%	3.0%	0.4%	3.8%
	Count	105	67	21	3	21	7	1	9
	Izv %	56.6%	6.5%	24.9%	2.2%	4.5%	0.3%	0.7%	4.5%
	Count	341	39	150	13	27	2	4	27
	Total %	48.6%	13.5%	19.6%	2.7%	8.1%	1.4%	0.7%	5.3%
	Count	522	145	210	29	87	15	8	57
1999	AiF %	24.7%	8.7%	28.9%	3.8%	28.6%	1.3%	0.7%	3.3%
	Count	150	53	176	23	174	8	4	20
	Ogon %	30.9%	22.0%	32.5%	5.7%	7.3%	0.8%	0.8%	0
	Count	38	27	40	7	9	1	1	0
	Izv %	16.5%	10.3%	62.5%	5.3%	2.7%	1.0%	0.3%	1.2%
	Count	96	60	364	31	16	6	2	7
	Total %	21.6%	10.7%	44.2%	4.6%	15.2%	1.1%	0.5%	2.1%
	Count	284	140	580	61	199	15	7	27

Table 5. 3: Summary - mutually exclusive strategies x year x publication (% and count)

The change in the use of obscure topic-naming headlines was even more dramatic, dropping from around 31% in 1979 to half that in 1989 and by another half in 1999. If the two groups are combined, the overall usage dropped by a half over the period, from almost 66% to approximately 33%.

The material from *Izvestiia* shows a similar trend to *AiF*: in the ten years to 1989 the usage of topic-naming headline dropped by 0.7%, in 1999 the reduction was almost 30%. When the two topic-naming figures are amalgamated, the difference is even more pronounced, from close to 71% in 1979 to 63% ten years later and to 27% in 1999.

The number of headlines in *Ogonek* in 1979 was very small (only seven of them). That year the topic-naming (combined figures) and summarizing strategies were equally balanced. The trend observed in the other two publications can also be traced in *Ogonek* in 1989 and 1999 with a reduction (combined figures) from around 74% in 1989 to close to 53% in 1999.

5.3.2 Summarizing headlines

The other popular type of headline in the corpus was the clear summarizing headline (summary clear for brevity), e.g.:

Опальный парламент Белоруссии назначает президентские выборы
(lizv99/4d)

Opal'nyi parlament Belorussii naznachaet prezidentskie vybory

'Disfavoured Byelorussian parliament sets [date for] the presidential election'

The usage of this type of headlines varies between *Izvestiia* and the weeklies. Whereas the daily shows an increase of about 8% between 1979 and 1989, and a greater increase still (almost 20%) between 1989 and 1999, the weeklies shows an overall reduction in the use of summarizing headlines, with a decrease for both of them in 1989, *AiF* from 30.9% to 16.5%, *Ogonek* from 42.9% to 9.0%, and a recovery in 1999, without, however, reaching the 1979 figures, (Figure 5.2).

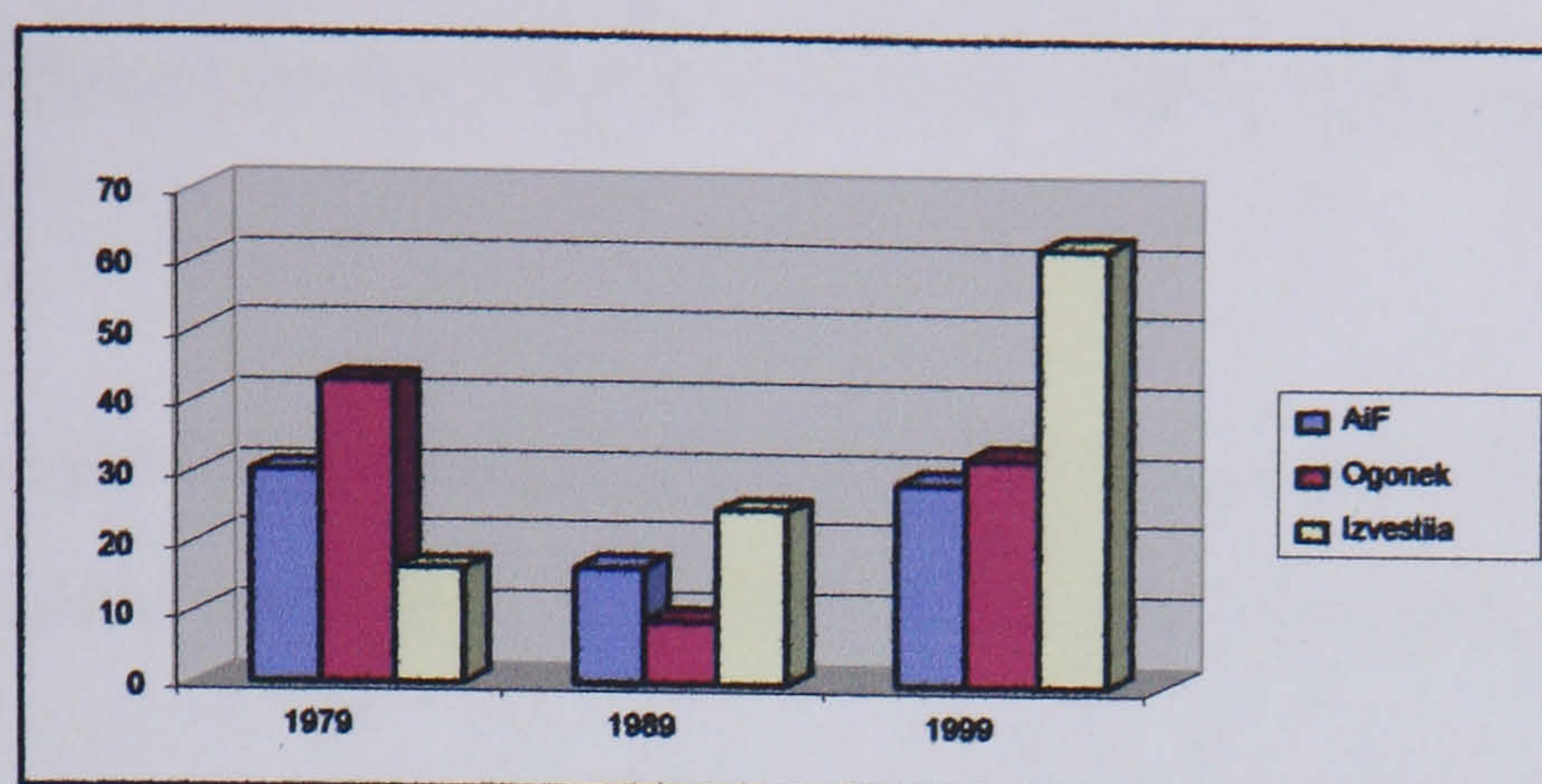


Figure 5. 2: Summary clear x year x publication (%)

The situation was somewhat different regarding the summary obscure type of headline. This type was never quite as popular as the other types, at least in the three publications in this study, not exceeding 6% in any one year. The usage shows total dissimilarity for the weeklies and the daily paper. The use of this strategy in *AiF* peaks in 1989 and then drops; the overall trend in *Izvestiia* is upward, but with a dip in 1989 and *Ogonek* goes from zero in 1979 to 5.7% in 1999, see Figure 5.3.

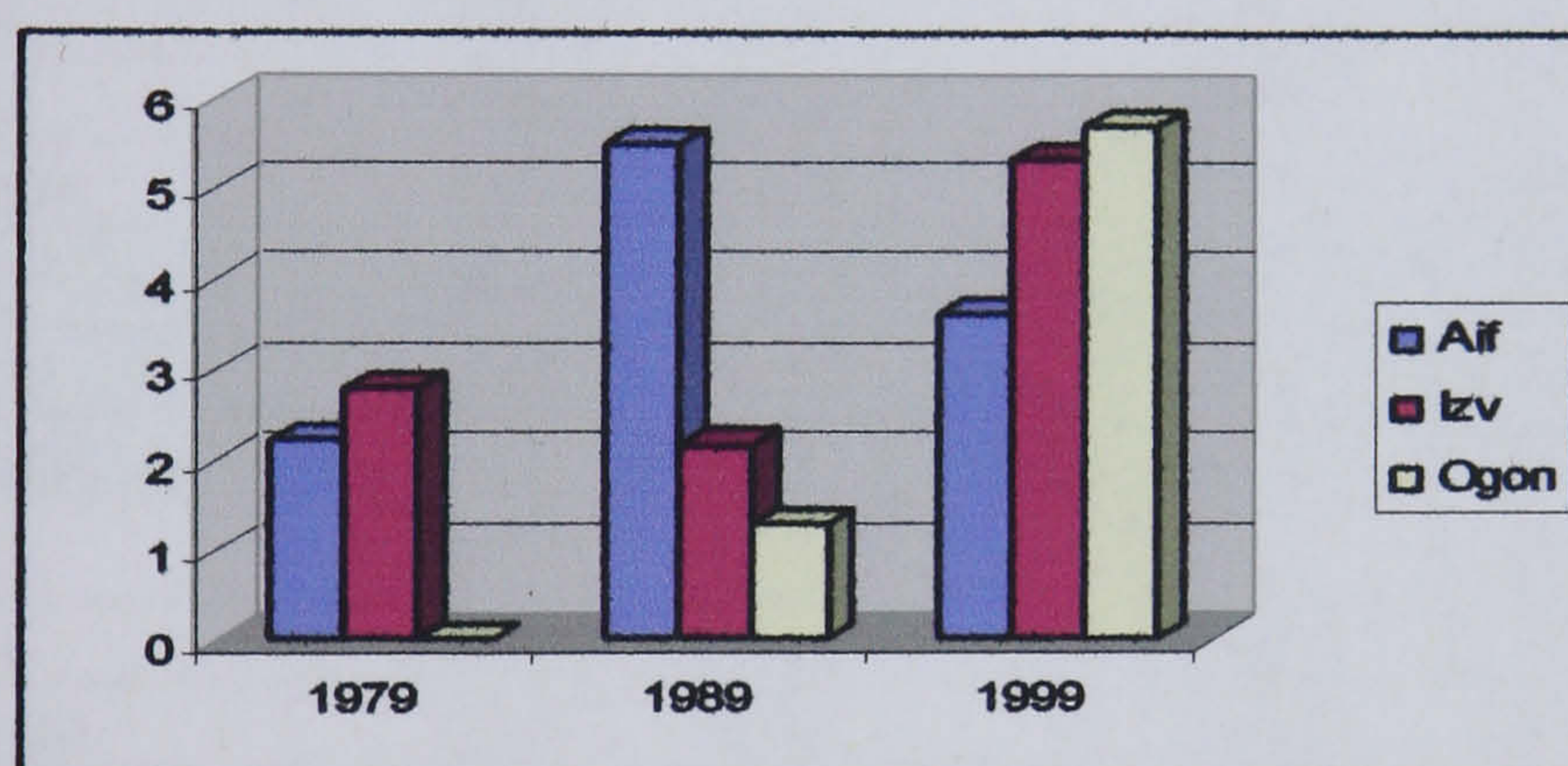


Figure 5. 3 : Summary obscure x year x publication (%)

5.3.3 Erotetic headlines

A type of headline which gained some popularity in 1989 and 1999 and that was extremely rare in the material for 1979 was the erotetic headline. Several types were identified (Table 5.4), the most frequent being headlines with an interrogative pronoun. There was a considerable difference in the frequency of erotetic headlines between the publications. An increase was observed in *AiF*, from 1.5% to 17.4% to 29.8%, and there was an increase also in *Ogonek*, from 0% to 9% in 1989; however, this was followed by a drop to 7.3% in 1999. In *Izvestiia*

the erotetic headlines rose from 0.1% in 1979 to 4.5% in 1989 and then dropped to 2.7% in 1999.

Erotetic (with *li* and with intonation only) were used more by the weeklies than by the daily which only used them in 1989. The weeklies increased their use from 1989 to 1999.

As can be seen from Table 5.4, erotetic other were used very sparingly in the 1979 sample but became more popular in 1989. *Izvestiia*, but especially *AiF*, continued to use them, *AiF* very frequently in 1999, while *Ogonek* limited their use in that year.

Year	Name of publication	erotetic pronoun	erotetic -li-	erotetic intonation only ¹⁵²	erotetic other ¹⁵³	Total (rounded to one decimal)
1979	aif	0.74	0.00	0.00	0.74	1.5
	izv	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.1
	ogon	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0
1989	aif	8.05	2.54	3.81	2.97	17.4
	izv	1.00	0.66	1.33	1.49	4.5
	ogon	4.27	0.43	0.85	3.42	9.0
1999	aif	9.21	2.80	4.11	13.65	29.8
	izv	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.75	2.7
	ogon	3.25	0.81	1.63	1.63	7.3

Table 5. 4: Erotetic headlines : % within the named publication each year

The number of erotetic headlines in the corpus is slightly higher than the statistical data shows. This is due to the headline coding. Where there were two sentences, the first a statement and the second a question, the headline was coded as a summary, topic, etc., rather than an erotetic headline, for example:

¹⁵² Erotetic intonation category (followed by a questionmark) includes questions with *ili*, *razve* and *neuzheli* (of which there were some five cases only).

¹⁵³ This category includes independently standing subordinate clauses without a question mark, or sentences with an indicator of a potential question, such as *or*:

For example: Как мы живем (3AiF89/1a)
 ‘Kak my zhiviom’
 How we live /The way we live
 Выставка достижений или ярмарка продолжений (9ogon89/2a)
Vystavka dostizhenii ili iarmarka prodolzhenii
 ‘Exhibition of achievements or trade fare of sequels’

Президент стучит ботинком. Что дальше? (50aif99)
Prezident stuchit botinkom. Chto dal'she?
'President bangs his shoe. What next?'

This was done with all headlines where there were two or more sentences.

5.3.4 Exclaiming headlines

The total numbers of exclaiming headlines are very small. The usage is different between *Izvestiia* and the two weeklies although the overall figures for any one of the publications do not exceed 3.5% in any one year (Figure 5.4). In 1989 fewer exclamations were used (0.3%). A slight increase was recorded for 1999 (1%).

The weeklies used exclaiming headlines rarely in 1979 and in 1999, with a slightly greater usage in 1989 (around 3% each).

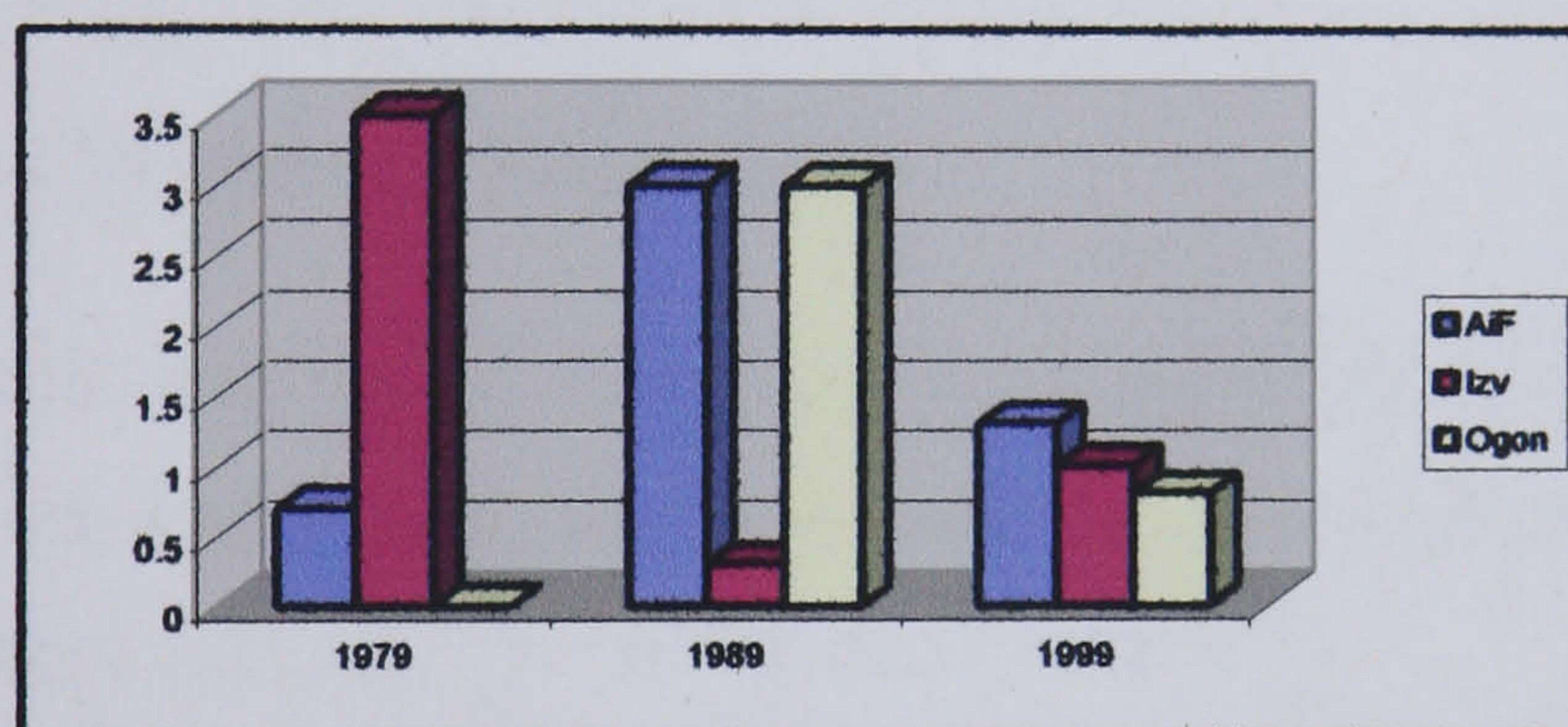


Figure 5. 4: Exclaiming headlines x year x publication (%)

5.3.5 Wishing headlines (cf. 4.5.2.5)

A fairly small number of wishing headlines (Figure 5.5) have been found, with *Izvestiia* and *Ogonek* using them more in 1979 than in other years. None were found in *AiF* for 1979 presumably due to the purpose of the paper at that time. *AiF* used this type of headline more than the other two publications in 1989 (1.3%) but in 1999 this type of headline declined also, to 0.7%.

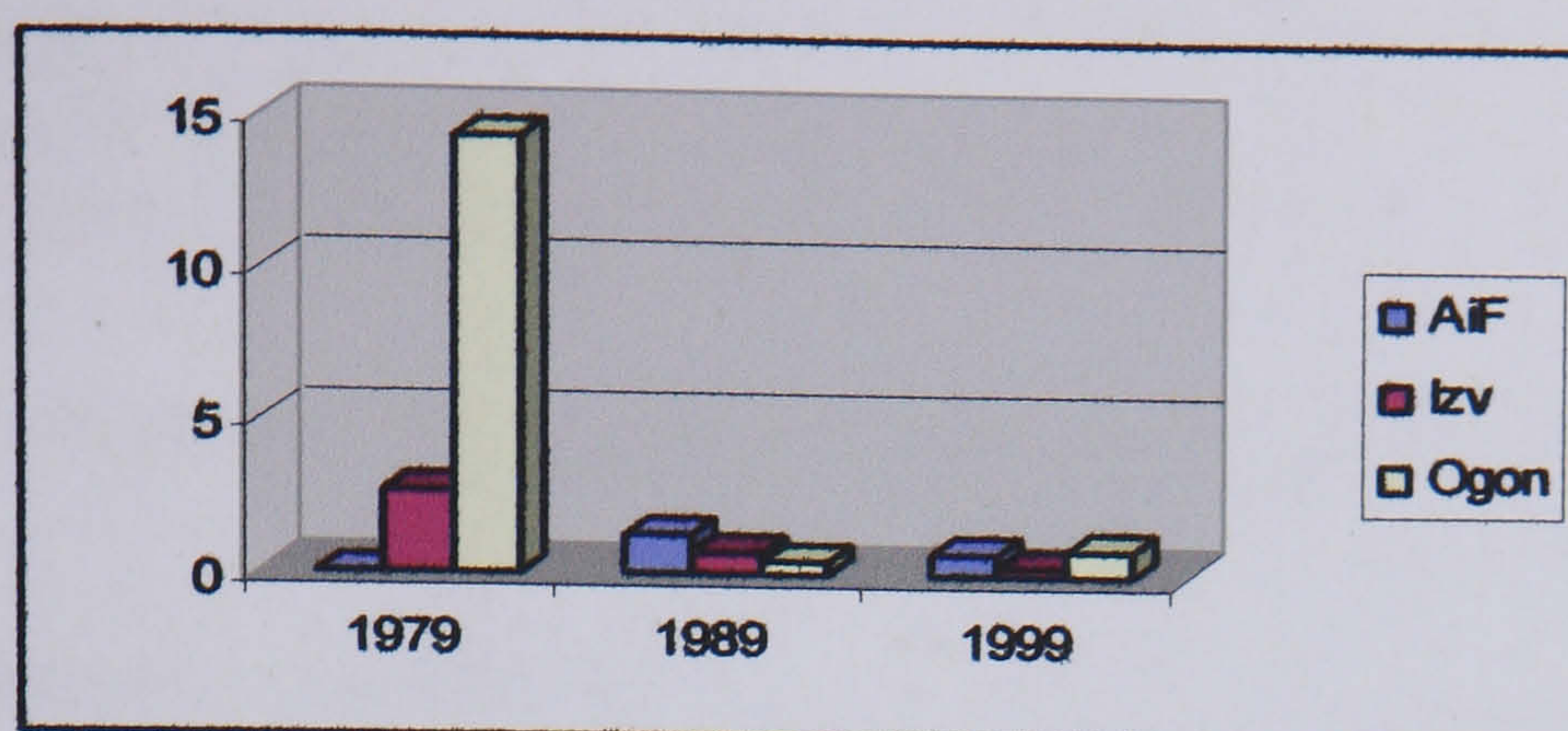


Figure 5. 5: Wishing headlines x year x publication (%)

Ogonek used a comparatively large number of wishes. In 1979 of the seven headlines published one was a wish. Though the figures did not exceed one percent in either of the other two years, there was nevertheless a doubling of exclaiming headlines between 1989 and 1999 from 0.4% to 0.8%. *Izvestiia* shows a steady decline over the years from 2.7% in 1979 to 0.7% in 1989 and to 0.3% in 1999.

5.3.6 Other / residual headlines

The headlines that were placed in the residual category did not fit comfortably into any of the other strategies. Included here were imperatives without exclamation marks such as:

Помогите нам (37aif89/3b)
Pomogite nam
 'Help us'

Ambiguous incomplete sentences with an infinitive were also placed in this category:

Дорожить доверием людей (30izv89/2b)
Dorozhit' doveriem liudey
 'To value people's trust'

This type can be interpreted in other ways, however. It can be seen as an incomplete modal sentence: '[It is necessary to] value.... or [We must] value ...

Another type of headlines included in this category were those addressing regions, conferences, groups of people etc. by the dative construction as the following example shows:

Землям Нечерноземья (35izv79/4d)
Zemliam Nechernozem'ia
'To the regions of Non-black earth'

Finally various fragments, e.g. adverbial expressions were also placed in this category:

Добровольно ... (43aif89/3a)
Dobrovol'no...
'Voluntarily...'

И все же ... (44aif89/3a)
I vsio zhe...
'And all the same...'

None of these constructions were found in 1979 *AiF* and *Ogonek*, whereas *Izvestiia* used them quite frequently (see Table 5.3 above.). The data for the year 1989 shows their increase in *Izvestiia* and an appearance of them in large percentages in both *AiF* and *Ogonek*. The year 1999 saw quite a sharp decline of these headlines in both *AiF* and *Izvestiia* and their total disappearance from *Ogonek*. The imperatives and the constructions with the infinitive were more frequent in *AiF* whereas the constructions with the dative seemed to be more typical of *Izvestiia*. *Ogonek* used these types comparatively sparingly.

5.4 Non-exclusive strategies

Findings for non-exclusive strategies are presented next. Unlike the mutually exclusive strategies, these can co-exist in the same headline (see section 4.5.3). They have been subdivided into language strategies and content strategies. Unlike mutually exclusive strategies, the non-exclusive strategies are subdivided further, thus data in these sections is on occasion provided in an aggregated form for convenience.

5.4.1 Language strategies: an overview

The non-exclusive language strategies have been divided into three sections: syntactic strategies (5.4.1.1), out of which several types of linguistic structures

were selected, and stylistic strategies (5.4.1.2) which were analysed for language play and language formality as well as evaluation. The use of abbreviations (5.4.1.3) was also included in this section.

5.4.1.1 Syntactic strategies

Four different linguistic structures were chosen for analysis. These were sentence forms, completeness and complexity of sentences, and selected verbal categories. Again the aim was to analyse the usage of these strategies and observe any changes that may have taken place over the two decades.

5.4.1.1.1 Sentence form

As can be seen from Figure 5.6¹⁵⁴ the most frequent sentence form was a statement 88.8%, followed by questions, 8.4%, and imperatives, 2%. The exclamations and wishes occurred in 0.8% of headlines.

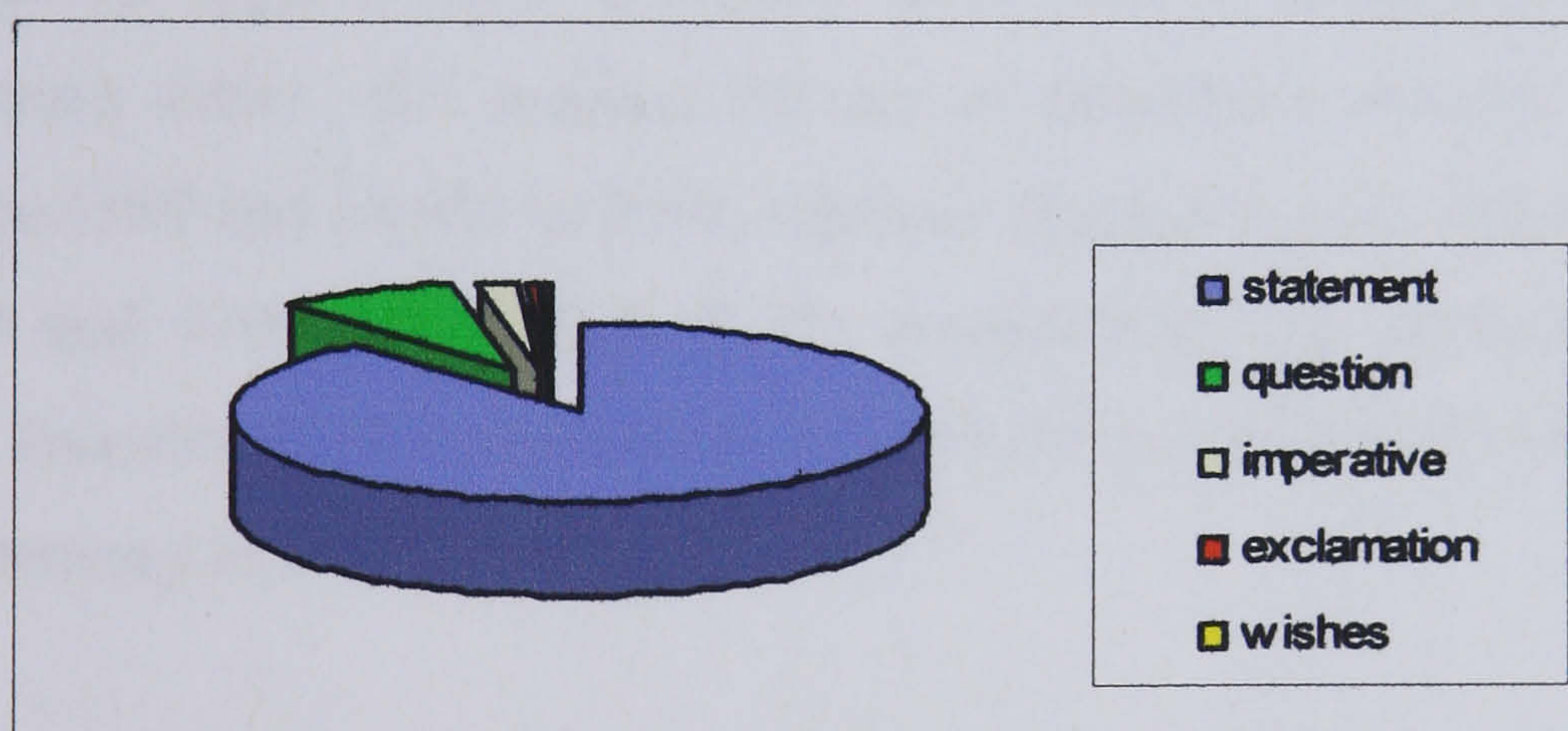


Figure 5. 6: Sentence form frequency in the Russian corpus

The summary of the changes can be seen in Table 5.5. Statements, although the most frequently used language form each year, diminished somewhat over the period, and the use of questions increased from below half of one percent to almost 15%. Imperatives seemed to be most popular in 1989.

¹⁵⁴ Pie charts were chosen in several cases for their visual impact.

Year	Language form					Total
	Statement	question	imperative	exclamation	wishes	
1979	883 98.9%	3 3%	1 0.1%	5 0.6%	1 0.1%	893 100.0%
1989	952 88.7%	81 7.5%	33 3.1%	5 0.5%	2 0.2%	1073 100.0%
1999	2914 88.9%	274 8.4%	64 2.0%	21 0.6%	6 0.2%	1313 100.0%

Table 5. 5: Language form x Year of publication (actual figures and percentages)

Individual mutually exclusive strategies and their language forms (see also Table A.5.1 in the appendix) are broadly linked as expected: topics and summaries are mostly expressed through the form of a statement, erotetic headlines as questions. As noted above, some of the erotetic headlines stand as independent subordinate clauses and in these cases they are perceived as statements rather than questions. Exclamations are sometimes expressed as imperatives and sometimes as statements.

Although the figures show a decline in the use of statements, the individual publications differ. *AiF* reduced the use of statements from 97.8% in 1979 to 74.2% in 1989 and 66.4% in 1999, whereas *Ogonek* retains almost the same level in 1979 and 1989, 85.7% and 85.0% respectively, and increases it in 1999 to 91.1%. *Izvestiia* shows a reduction from 99.2% in 1979 to 95.9% in 1989 and a small recovery in 1999, 96.7%.

5.4.1.1.2 Sentence completeness [± ellipsis]

Almost two thirds of all headlines are in the form of incomplete sentences. This applies to all three publications, see Figure 5.7.

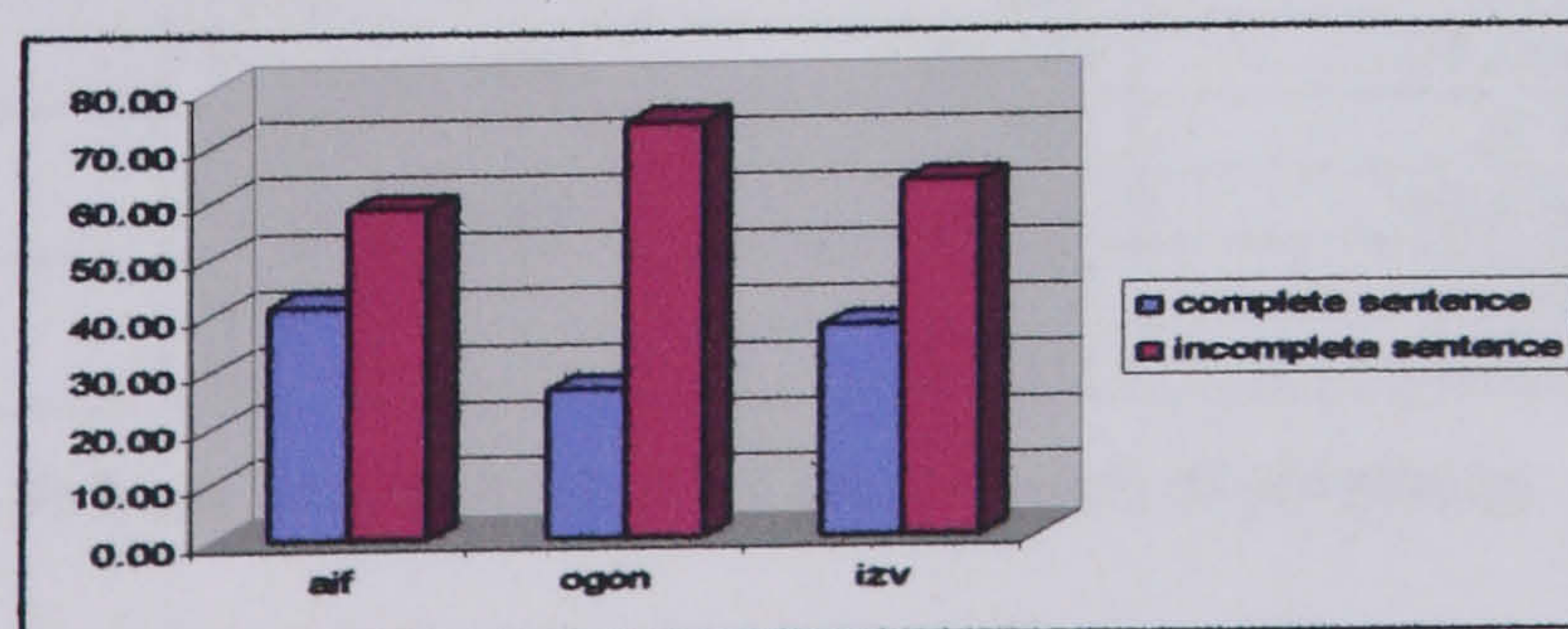


Figure 5. 7: Completeness of sentences x publication (%)

As might be expected, most of the topic-naming headlines are in the form of incomplete sentences; for both clear and obscure topics the figure is about 95%. For summaries the situation is reversed and the majority (87% for clear and 77% for obscure summaries) are in the form of complete sentences. A similar situation applies to erotetics, except for erotetic others which were classified as subordinate clauses with the main clause absent, and are thus seen as incomplete. The remainder of the headline types tends to be in incomplete sentences (see Table 5.6).

Mutually exclusive strategies	complete sentence		incomplete sentence / elliptical		Total
topic clear/obvious	65	5.1%	1218	94.9%	1283
topic obscure	24	5.6%	403	94.4%	427
summary clear/obvious	821	86.6%	127	13.4%	948
summary obscure	87	77.0%	26	23.0%	113
erotetic pronoun	81	84.4%	15	15.6%	96
erotetic -li-	27	93.1%	2	6.9%	29
erotetic intonation only	39	84.8%	7	15.2%	46
erotetic other	6	4.7%	122	95.3%	128
exclamation	23	39.7%	35	60.3%	58
wishing	5	13.9%	31	86.1%	36
other	42	44.2%	53	55.8%	95
other adverbial	0	0	20	100.0%	20
Total	1220	37.2%	2059	62.8%	3279 =100%

Table 5. 6: Mutually exclusive strategies x Completeness of sentences

Table 5.7 below shows the changes over the years. The use of complete sentences increased between 1979 and 1989 by 9% and almost doubled between 1989 and 1999, from just over 28% to over 56%. This broadly followed the changed use of topic-naming and summarizing strategies.

Year of publication		Completeness of sentences		Total
		complete sentence	incomplete sentence	
1979	Count	173	720	893
	% within 1979	19.4%	80.6%	100.0%
1989	Count	306	767	1073
	% within 1989	28.5%	71.5%	100.0%
1999	Count	742	571	1313
	% within 1999	56.5%	43.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	1221	2058	3279
	%	37.2%	62.8%	100.0%

Table 5. 7: Year of publication x Completeness of sentences

5.4.1.1.3 Complexity of sentences

Four different types of sentences were examined: simple, coordinate, subordinate and block. Coordinate sentences were very rare across the three publications and the subordinate ones were also infrequent; only in *AiF* did they reach over 10%. In *Izvestiia* and *Ogonek* the number of block headlines was greater than the number of simple sentences, while in *AiF* the situation was reversed (Figure 5.8).

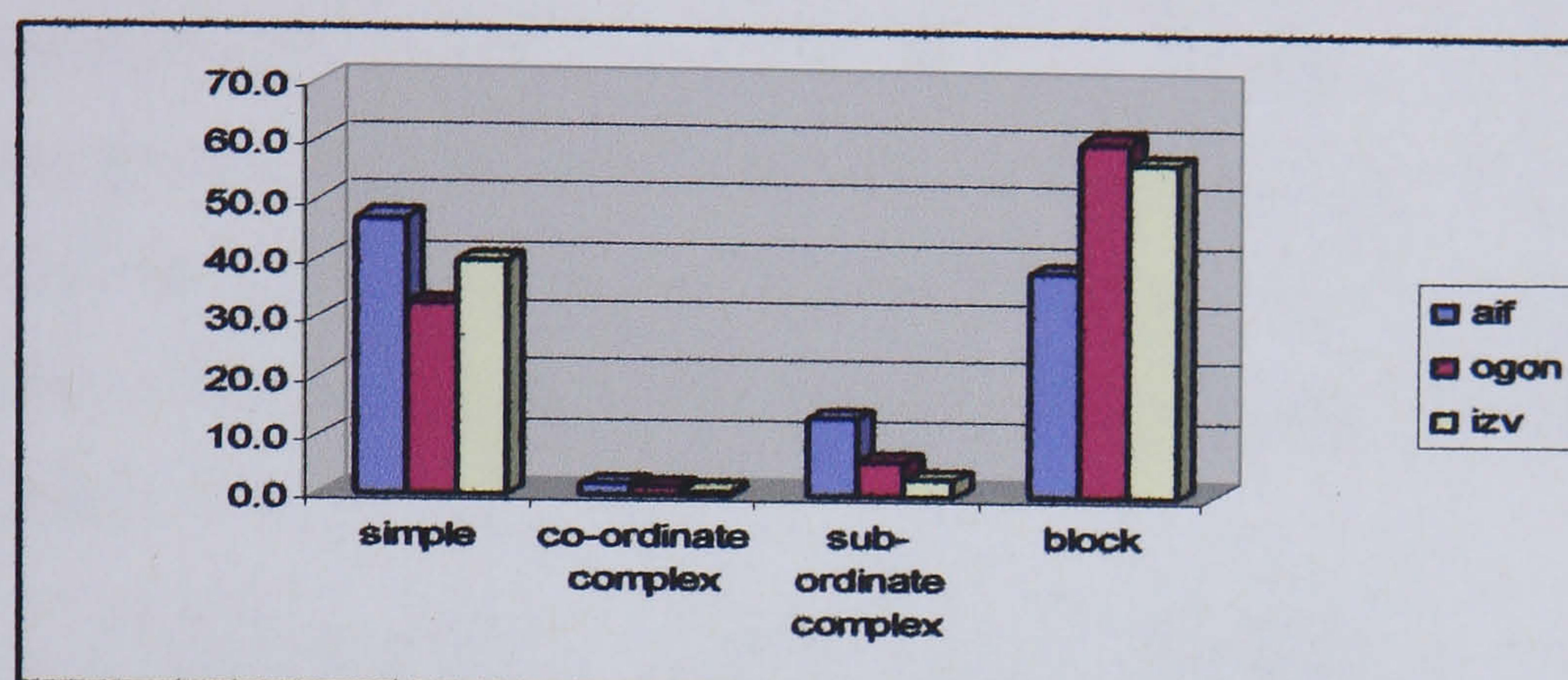


Figure 5. 8: Complexity of sentences x publications

As far as the distribution of this category across the different years is concerned, in 1979 the largest number of headlines was in the form of block headlines. This was reduced to 59.9% in 1989 and dropped further to 29.5% in 1999. The simple sentences were at the same time undergoing the reverse process, from 23.3% to 34.9% to 58% in 1999. There is also a noticeable increase in the use of complex sentences. The co-ordinate sentences experienced a modest increase from 0.2% to 1.2% to 1.6%. A more pronounced increase is observed in subordinate sentences. Their use grew from 2.1% to 4% to 11%. See Table 5.8. below and also Table A5.2 in the appendix.

Year of publication			Complexity of sentences				Total
			simple	co-ordinate complex	sub-ordinate complex	block	
1979	Total	No. of headlines	208	2	19	664	893
		% within mutually exclusive strategies	23.3%	.2%	2.1%	74.4%	100.0 %
1989	Total	No. of headlines	374	13	43	643	1073
		% within mutually exclusive strategies	34.9%	1.2%	4.0%	59.9%	100.0 %
1999	Total	No. of headlines	761	21	144	387	1313
		% within mutually exclusive strategies	58.0%	1.6%	11.0%	29.5%	100.0 %

Table 5. 8: Mutually exclusive strategies x Complexity of sentences x Year of publication

5.4.1.1.4 Selected verbal categories

The selection of the verbal categories was guided by the corpus, thus ten types were separated out with a group of ‘other’ added for ambiguous cases.

By far the most frequent headlines were the ones without any verbs whatsoever, which accounted for over 54% of all headlines across the three publications. The next by frequency were the headlines which included an active lexical (full) verb and they numbered a quarter of the headlines. Headlines with the verb *to be* included almost ten percent of the material. Two other structures, with a count below 4%, were noted: headlines including a passive participle and headlines with infinitives (Table 5.9).

Verbal categories	Frequency	Percent
active-is/are /isn't	305	9.3
active – full/lexical verb	807	24.6
reflexive particle	71	2.2
impersonal 3rd pl no pronoun	41	1.3
passive participle	129	3.9
gerund	14	0.4
infinitive	111	3.4
‘by ‘conditional	10	0.3
other	7	0.2
active participle	7	0.2
none	1777	54.2
Total	3279	100.0

Table 5. 9: Frequency of verbal categories in the Russian corpus

5.4.1.2 Stylistic strategies

Stylistic strategies include a number of ploys that make headlines more attractive to the readers. This includes features such as playing with words (5.4.1.2.1) including elements such as polysemy, incrustations and word order, rhetorical figures (5.4.1.2.2) language formality (5.4.1.2.3) and evaluation (5.4.1.2.4).

5.4.1.2.1 Playing with words

The number of headlines displaying some kind of language playfulness within the corpus was just over 9% (9.06%). A variety of language resources can be used in

wordplay, a means of making headlines more interesting, see Table 5.10, which lists the different strategies found in the corpus, and Figure 5.9.

Language play	Frequency	Percent
polysemy	30	0.91
homonymy	15	0.46
repetition of the same word	8	0.24
word order unusual	136	4.15
contrast	55	1.68
other	35	1.07
superlative	18	0.55
none	2982	90.94
Total	3279	100

Table 5. 10: Frequency of language play in Russian headlines

The most frequently employed resource found in the analysed material was unusual word order. By placing certain parts of speech in unexpected sentence positions created emphasis or an atypical reading and thus stood out. In the example below the accusative case precedes the verb and the subject:

Оценку дают депутаты (52aif89/1a)
Otsenku daiut deputaty
‘It is the MPs who give their evaluation’

Surprisingly, the use of a superlative, considered one of typical characteristics of a headline in western literature (Galtung and Ruge, op.cit.) was not very frequent, just a little over half a per cent.

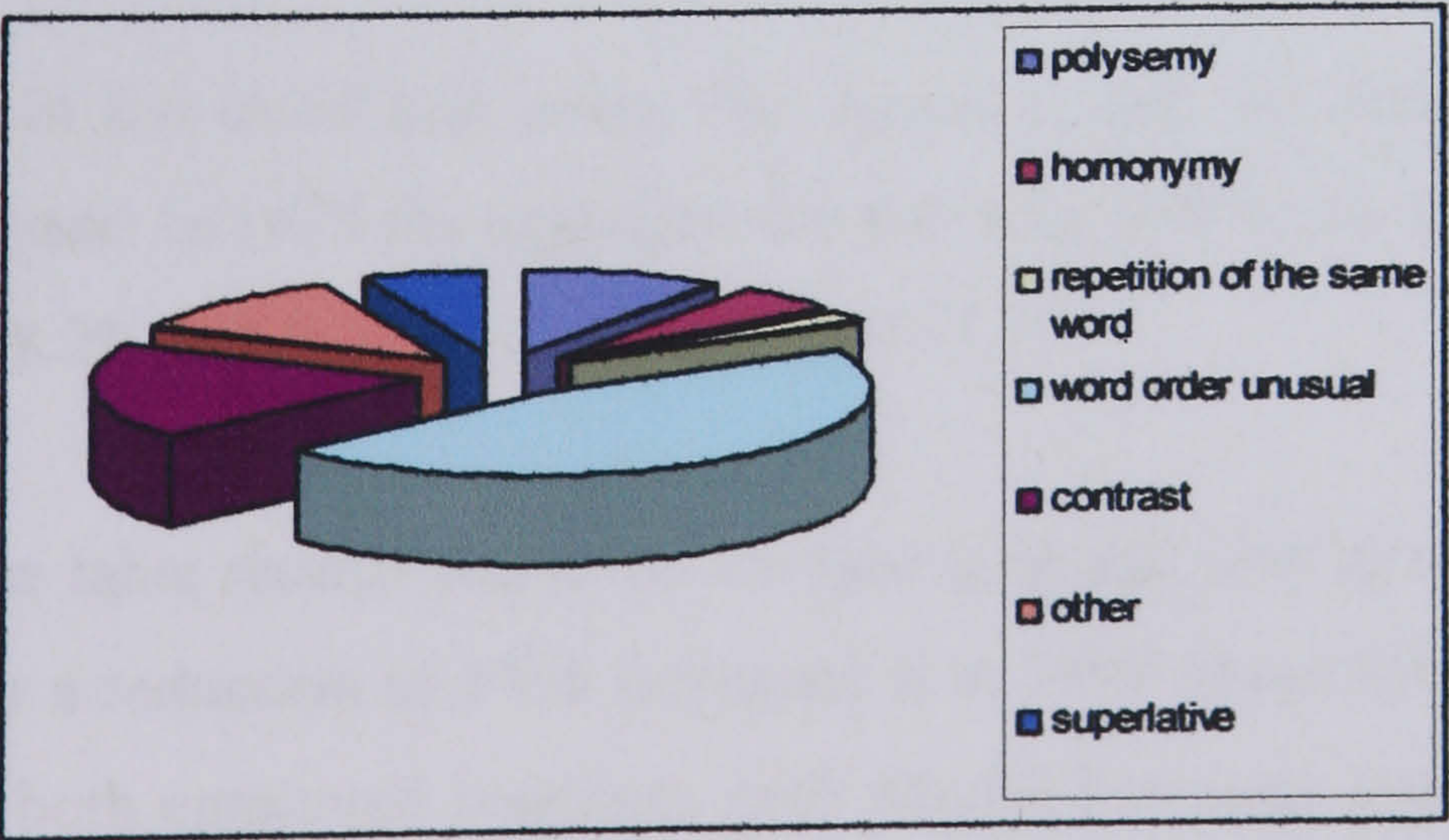


Figure 5. 9: Language play by resources (their distribution within the 9.06%)

Incrustations included in the category ‘other’, are rare in the analysed material. They are found mostly in *Ogonek*, and they add interest as well as attract attention. An incrustation can consist of just a few letters, as can be seen in the word *ottiag* in the headline below, or it can be a foreign name such as *Iron Lady* or *Roxette*.

оттяг!

Мимо этого посольства я без шуток не хожу (14ogon99/1a)

ottiag!

Mimo etogo posol'stva ia bez shutok ne khozhu

‘fun!

I don't walk past this embassy without jokes'

Several other elements come together in the above headline. The lack of the capital letter is one, another is the use of the zhargon word *ottiag*.

Интервью с «Roxette» (8aif99/3h)

Interv'iu s 'Roxette'

‘An interview with ‘Roxette’ ‘

‘Roxette’ is the name of a popular music band.

Although incrustations can be from any alphabet, only words in the Latin alphabet were found in the corpus.

Prefixes and suffixes are used in Russian to form new words. Replacing them with another element also creates unusual meanings:

Воронежские злоключения камчатских школьников (153izv99/2a)

Voronezhskie zlokliucheniia kamchatskikh shkol'nikov

‘Mal-adventures of Kamchatka schoolchildren in Voronezh’

Viewed in the individual years, the figures reveal that language play increased year on year: in 1979 the aggregate for the three publications was 7.4%, in 1989 it grew to 8.2% and in 1999 to 11.2%, Table 5.11.

The same table reveals that *Izvestiia* used language play most frequently in 1979, and after a reduction in 1989 increased it in 1999 (from 8.4% to 8.8%). *AiF* and *Ogonek* both employed headlines with playful language more often as time went on.

Year	Publication	Present		Absent		Total
		Number	%	Number	%	Number=100%
1979	AiF	3	2.2%	133	97.8%	136
	Ogon	0	0	7	100%	7
	Izv	63	8.4%	687	91.6%	750
	Total	66	7.4%	827	92.6%	893
1989	AiF	22	9.4%	214	90.7%	236
	Ogon	23	9.8%	211	90.2%	234
	Izv	43	7.8%	560	92.2%	603
	Total	88	9.2%	985	91.8%	1073
1999	AiF	77	12.7%	531	87.3%	608
	Ogon	19	15.4%	104	84.6%	123
	Izv	51	8.8%	531	91.2%	582
	Total	147	11.2%	1166	88.8%	1313

Table 5. 11: Presence and absence of language play across the years and publications

5.4.1.2.2 Rhetorical figures

Examination of the statistical data from the Russian corpus reveals that 12.9% of the headlines display some rhetorical figures. Table 5.12 gives the number of headlines and percentages of rhetorical figures per year per publication. The trends are unexpectedly totally diverse across the years and publications.

Name of publication		Year of publication			Total
		1979	1989	1999	
<i>AiF</i>	Number	42 out of 136	29 out of 236	98 out of 608	169 out of 980
	%	30.9%	12.3%	16.1%	17.2%
<i>Izvestiia</i>	Number	67 out of 750	38 out of 603	94 out of 582	199 out of 1935
	%	8.9%	6.3%	16.2%	10.3%
<i>Ogonek</i>	Number	1 out of 7	41 out of 234	12 out of 123	54 out of 364
	%	14.3%	17.5%	9.8%	14.8%

Table 5. 12: Rhetorical figures x year x publication

Of the three publications *AiF* used the greatest number of rhetorical figures in 1979, almost 31%, reduced their number quite dramatically in 1989 and recovered slightly in 1999, ending with 16.1%. *Izvestiia* on the other hand used the smallest percentage of headlines with rhetorical figures in 1979, only 8.9%, and like *AiF* reduced their number in 1989. However, it revived the practice in 1999 to such an extent that it all but doubled the number of such headlines as compared to 1979.

Ogonek used rhetorical figures in yet another pattern. Starting with one such headline (which was 14.3%), it used them prolifically in 1989 (17.5%) and then dropped to just below 10% in 1999. Thus *AiF* and *Izvestiia* used almost the same percentage of headlines with rhetorical figures. (For the individual figures see Table A5.3 in the appendix).

The break-down of the rhetorical figures shows the presence of several different types in the Russian corpus (see Figure 5.10. below which illustrates the distribution of rhetorical figures within the 12.9%).

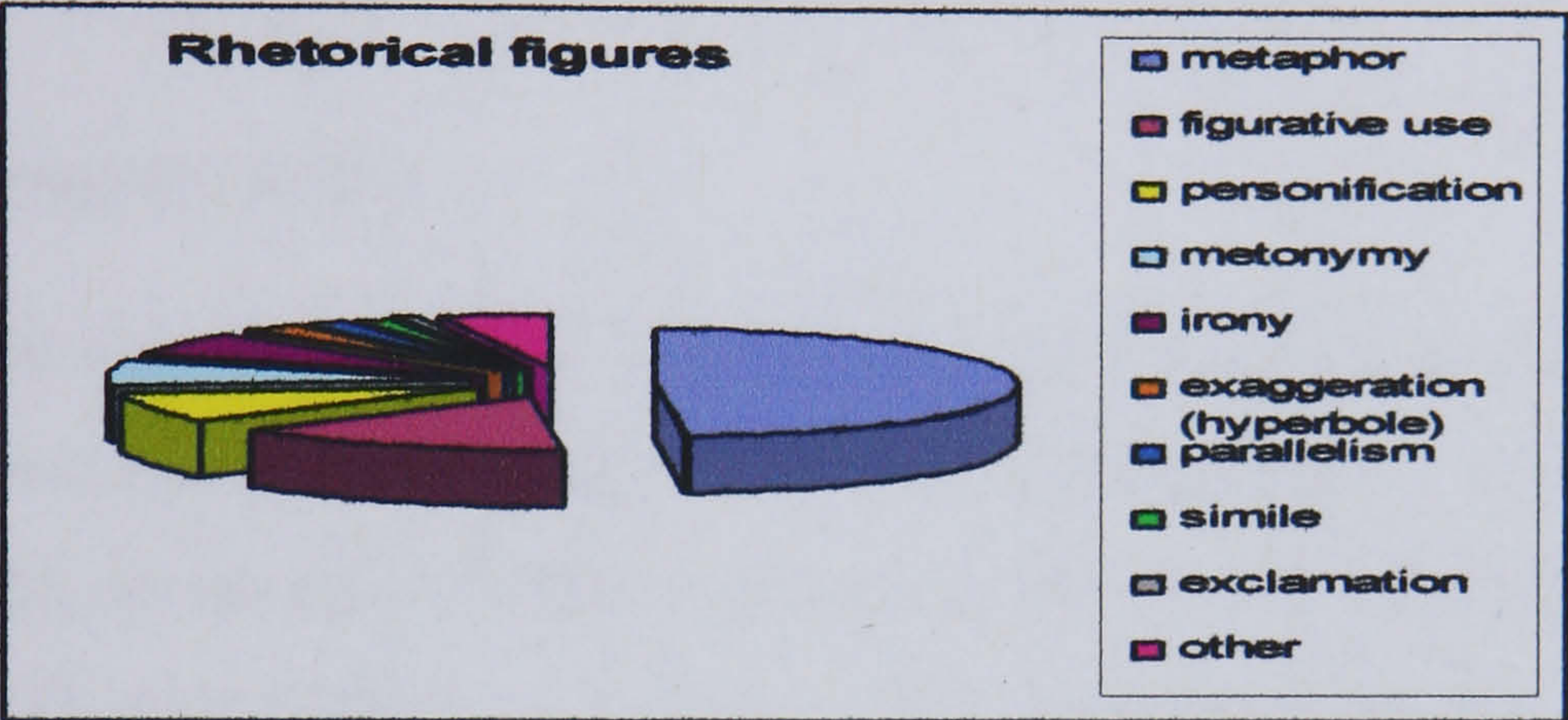


Figure 5. 10: Figures of speech in the Russian corpus (aggregate)

The most frequent by far is the metaphor (6.0%), this is almost 50% of all the rhetorical figures. It is followed by figurative use/meaning (2.1%), personification (1.3%), metonymy (0.9%) and irony (0.9%). The remaining rhetorical figures together barely reach 1.7%.

The frequency of rhetorical figures' use varied over time. Metaphors displayed a downward trend, from 7.4% in 1979 to 7.2% in 1999, with a drop to 3.4% in 1989. There was a small rise in exaggeration and personification (0.2% to 0.5% and 1.0% to 1.4% respectively) and also in metonymy, from 0.4% in 1979 to 1.6% in 1999.

Table 5.13 shows that the usage of headlines with metonyms increased with time, and the publication using them most often was *Izvestiia*.

	Metonymy	1979	1989	1999
AiF	Number	2	0	4
	%	33.3%	.0%	66.7%
Izv	Number	2	5	17
	%	8.3%	20.8%	70.8%
Ogon	Number	0	1	0
	%	.0%	100.0%	.0%

Table 5. 13: Distribution of metonyms over the years and publications

Even though the overall number of the various rhetorical figures is comparatively small, just under 13%, when added to the numbers for language play, 9%, the number is about one fifth of all the headlines (within the Russian corpus).

5.4.1.2.3 Language formality

Table 5.14 illustrates the changes, in the language formality of the Russian headlines. The overwhelming majority of all collected headlines is written in the neutral style. The penetration of other registers varied considerably from year to year. In the 1979 corpus there were 15 (= 1.8%) headlines containing high or bookish lexical items, such as *sversheniie* ‘a great deed, achievement’; there were three informal lexical items, for example the expression *ne po karmanu* ‘too dear’, and one regional expression (0.3%). There were no colloquialisms or *zhargon* expressions.

Year of publication			Name of publication			Total
			AiF	Ogon	Izv	
1979	Language formality	neutral	93.4%	100.0%	98.7%	97.9%
		informal	1.5%	0	0.1%	0.3%
		high, bookish	5.1%	0	1.1%	1.8%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
1989	Language formality	neutral	91.1%	96.6%	98.0%	96.2%
		informal	8.5%	2.6%	1.5%	3.3%
		high, bookish	0.4%	0.9%	0.5%	0.6%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
1999	Language formality	neutral	89.0%	93.5%	94.2%	91.7%
		informal	8.1%	3.3%	4.6%	6.1%
		colloquial	1.3%	0	0.7%	0.9%
		high, bookish	0.3%	0.8%	0.3%	0.4%
		other	0.5%	0	0.2%	0.3%
		zhargon	0.8%	2.4%	0.0	0.6%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5. 14: Language formality x Year of publication x Name of publication

Some changes occurred in the 1989 corpus, notably the balance changed between the high/bookish vocabulary and informal vocabulary. This became even more noticeable in 1999. The bookish lexis declined from 1.8% to 0.6% to 0.4% over the decades whereas the informal one rose from 0.3% to 3.3%. to 6.1% .

5.4.1.2.4 Evaluation

The aggregate figure in Table 5.15 shows that just over a quarter of all headlines included some kind of evaluation. The tendencies observed in the corpus are described below.

Evaluation	Frequency	Percent
non-evaluative	2406	73.4
evaluative -positive	259	7.9
evaluative -negative	304	9.3
other	137	4.2
imp neg ev	84	2.6
imp pos ev	89	2.7
Total	3279	100.0

Table 5. 15: Evaluation in headline

5.4.1.2.4.1 Tendencies in evaluative headlines

In the material gathered for this study several tendencies were observed, (see Figure 5.11 below and Table A5.4 in the appendix). The first trend was a small increase in non-evaluative headlines from 75.4% in 1979 to 78.3% in 1989. However, by 1999 the number of non-evaluative headlines dropped by almost 10%, down to 68.0%.

The second noticeable trend was the shift from positively evaluative headlines to headlines with negative evaluation. Positive evaluation dropped from 14.0% in 1979 to 6.9% in 1989 down to 4.6% in 1999 while over the same time the figures for headlines with negative evaluation climbed from 6.3% in 1979 to 13.5% in 1999. Similar changes occurred within the implied evaluation: implied positive evaluation dropped from 3.0% in 1979 to 2.7% in 1999 and the implied negative evaluation grew from below one percent (0.8%) in 1979 to 4.4% in 1999.

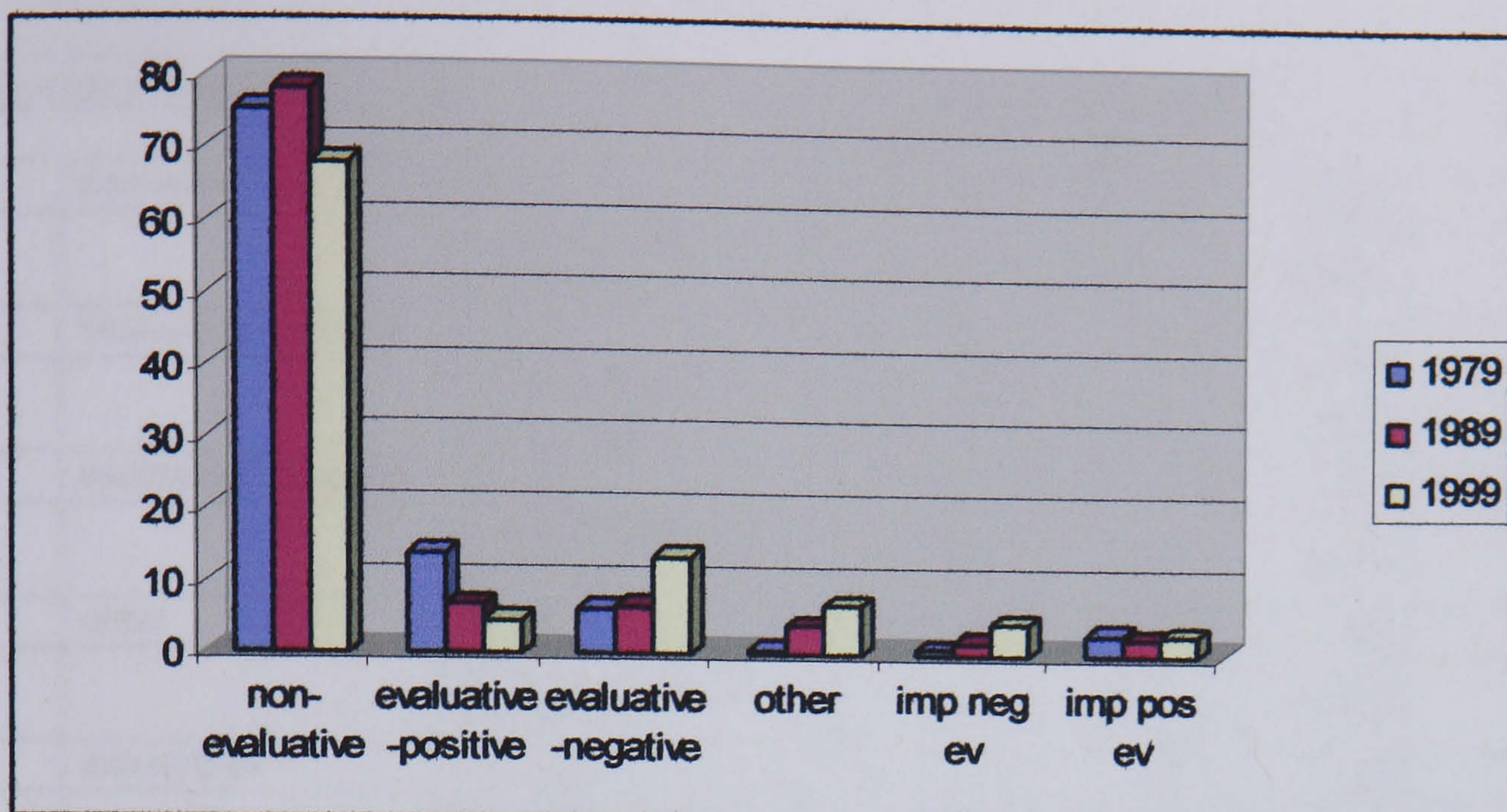


Figure 5. 11: Evaluation in Russian headlines in different years (count)

The third trend that was observed in the corpus was the increase of headlines that could be interpreted in either way depending on the reader's position (the category 'other'). From 0.6% in 1979 the number of such headlines rose over elevenfold to 6.8% in 1999.

When a comparison is made across the different publications the results show that *Izvestiia* offered its readers the greatest number of non-evaluative headlines, 83.3% (Table 5.16). When the figures for the different years are separated, the greatest number of neutral headlines appeared in 1989 (88.6%) and the lowest number in 1999 (Table A5.5 in the appendix). On the other hand, *AiF* produced the smallest number of neutral headlines, 56.5%. When figures are separated for the individual years for this publication, they show that the newspaper was least neutral in 1979 with 33.1% of non-evaluative headlines and most neutral in 1989 with 62.3%, that is about 25% less than *Izvestiia*. For *Ogonek* the average figure is 65.9%, with 1989 being again the year with the greatest numbers of neutral headlines.

The figures for positive evaluative headlines hover around the 8% mark for all three publications, but when it comes to negative evaluation, *AiF* stands out with the highest average figure of 21.9% of negatively evaluative headlines.

Evaluation in headline		Name of publication			Total
			aif	ogon	izv
	non-evaluative	Count	554	240	1612
		% within Name of publication	56.5%	65.9%	83.3%
	evaluative -positive	Count	81	28	150
		% within Name of publication	8.3%	7.7%	7.8%
	evaluative -negative	Count	215	29	60
		% within Name of publication	21.9%	8.0%	3.1%
	other	Count	77	34	26
		% within Name of publication	7.9%	9.3%	1.3%
	imp neg ev	Count	32	15	37
		% within Name of publication	3.3%	4.1%	1.9%
	imp pos ev	Count	21	18	50
		% within Name of publication	2.1%	4.9%	2.6%
Total		Count	980	364	1935
		% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5. 16: Evaluation in Russian headlines x publications

This is caused by a particularly high figure in 1979, where it reached almost 40% (39.7 %.). It must be remembered, however, that in that year *AiF* was still serving as a tool for the political instructors etc. and its brief included reprinting articles which showed negative features of western capitalist society, e.g.:

Безработица – социальное преступление капитализма (8a79/2b)
Bezrobotitsa – sotsial;noe prestuplenie kapitalizma
 ‘Unemployment is a social crime of capitalism’

5.4.1.2.4.2 Evaluative referents

Table 5.17 offers a summary of subjects referred to in evaluative headlines. A comparatively large number of evaluative headlines did not provide a referent. In some cases the implication was strong enough to include such headlines in the ‘implied’ category, but in many others there were no indications whether the headline referred to a Russian or another entity.

If the non-evaluative headlines are excluded, the breakdown of the referents can be seen more clearly, see Figure 5.12.

Evaluation referents	Frequency	Percent
expl Soviet	35	1.1
expl Russian	57	1.7
expl Western	17	.5
expl socialist	7	.2
expl Chinese	5	.2
other	54	1.6
not given	514	15.7
mixed	13	.4
impl socialist	30	.9
impl western	27	.8
impl Russian	113	3.4
none	2407	73.4
Total	3279	100.0

Table 5. 17: Evaluation referents –Russian corpus

Just over half of the evaluative headlines do not provide any referents. The second biggest group is the group where Russia or a Russian referent are given.

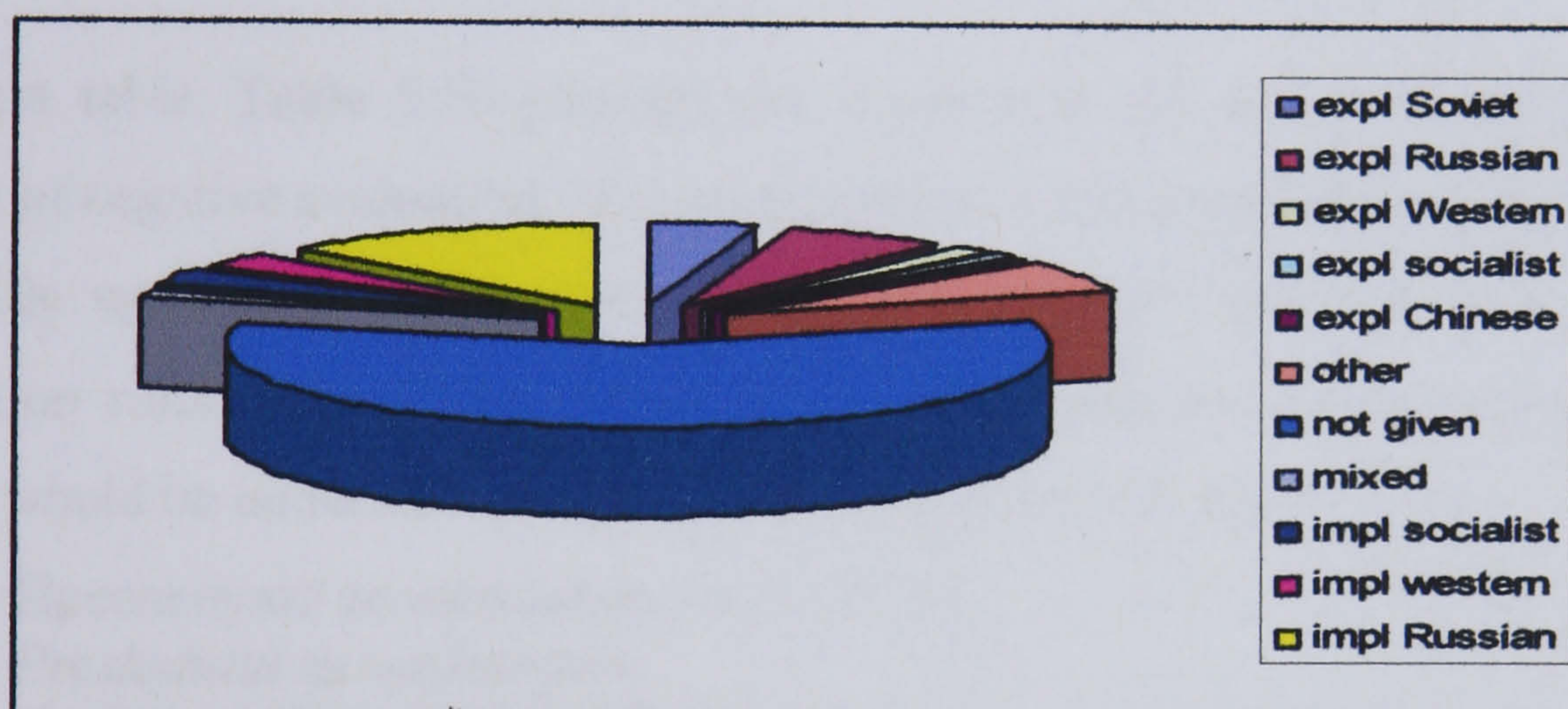


Figure 5. 12: Referents in evaluative headlines

Table 5.18 presents the situation in the three selected years in respect of positive evaluation referents. A severe decline can be observed of positive evaluative reference to anything Soviet (from 16.8% in 1979 to zero in 1999). This is mostly because the Soviet Union was replaced by the Russian Federation, and partly because in 1999 references to anything Soviet tended to be negative. There is an increase of explicitly positive references to Russian referents (from 0.8% in 1979 to 13.3% in 1999) and a large increase of implicitly positive ones (from 2.4% in 1979 to 31.7% in 1999). No headlines with explicit positive evaluation for the western world were found in 1979 at all, although there were quite a few in 1989 (8.1%) and very few in 1999 (1.7%). A large number of headlines did not include any referents. It is probable that such headlines refer to events and people in the

country, be it the Soviet Union or the Russian Federation, but since there are no tangible implications, such headlines were coded as not having a referent. Explicit references to socialist countries occurred only in 1979 and implicit references, though appearing in all the three years, diminished from 8.8% to 1.7%.

Positive evaluation reference to	1979	1989	1999
expl Soviet	16.8%	8.1%	.0
expl Russian	.8%	1.4%	13.3%
expl Western	.0	.0	.0
expl socialist	4.0%	.0	.0
expl Chinese	.8%	.0	.0
other	2.4%	6.8%	10.0%
not given	60.0%	73.0%	41.7%
mixed	4.0%	8.1%	.0
impl socialist	8.8%	2.7%	1.7%
impl western	.0	8.1%	1.7%
impl Russian	2.4%	1.4%	31.7%
Total number of headlines (count)	125 (14%)	74 (6.9%)	60 (4.6%)

Table 5.18: Positive evaluation and evaluation referents per year (%)

The next table, Table 5.19 presents the situation in the three selected years in respect of negative evaluation. Negative evaluation was reserved for explicitly and implicitly western events, actions and people, and four headlines with negative evaluation referred to China. Most of the 1979 headlines in the category ‘not given’ would be understood to refer to the western world, too,

Преследуют за инакомыслие (1a79/3i)
Presleduiut za inakomyslie
 ‘Persecuted for different views’

while those in 1999 would be more likely seen as referring to Russia:

Скандал: Разоблачен публичный дом для высших чиновников и генералов (41aif99/2a)
Skandal: Razoblachen publichnyj dom dlja vysshikh chinovnikov I generalov ‘Scandal: Uncovered a brothel for the highest officials and generals’

However, some of these headlines are very general and cannot be pinned on any specific referent without reading the article:

Хлеб –убийца (39aif99/3j)
Khleb - ubijtsa
 ‘Bread is a killer’

It is noticeable that the socialist world and the Soviet Union did not receive any negatively evaluative headlines in 1979, whereas Russia in 1999 was the target of a number of negatively evaluative headlines, both explicit and implicit. The Western world was the target of quite a few explicit and even more implicit negatively evaluative headlines in 1979, whereas in 1999 the number of such headlines was very small.

Negative evaluation referents	1979	1989	1999
expl Soviet	0.0	0.0	1.7%
expl Russian	0.0	0.0	10.2%
expl Western	14.3%	0.0	2.3%
expl socialist	0.0	0.0	1.1%
expl Chinese	7.1%	0.0	0.0
other	3.6%	2.8%	9.6%
not given	44.6%	95.8%	58.2%
mixed	0.0	0.0	1.1%
impl socialist	0.0	1.4%	0.0
impl western	30.4%	0.0	0.6%
impl Russian	0.0	0.0	15.3%
Total	56 (6.3%)	71 6.6%)	177 (13.5%)

Table 5. 19: Negative evaluation and evaluation referents per year

Looking at the yearly totals in Tables 5.13 and Table 5.14., the number of headlines with positive evaluation dropped to a third between 1979 and 1999 and the number of headlines with negative evaluation increased twofold in the same period. Overall the data reveal that there were more negatively evaluative headlines than positively evaluative ones (Table A5.6 in the appendix).

5.4.1.3 Abbreviations

The collected material provided somewhat surprising data as far as the usage of abbreviations (and blends) both across the years and across the three publications was concerned. The aggregate figures show a drop from 9.9% in 1979 to 9.1% in 1999 (with a rise to 12.1% in 1989), whereas the use of blends grows evenly from 0.6% to 2.1% to 4.6%.

When taken individually as a percentage, *AiF* used almost the same number of abbreviations in 1979 and in 1999 (9.6% and 9.4% respectively) but dropped their use by over a half in 1989 (to 4.2%). *Ogonek* showed an increase over the

decades, from zero in 1979 to 0.4% in 1989 and 4.9% in 1999. The trend in *Izvestiia* was exactly the opposite of *AiF*. In *Izvestiia* the biggest number of headlines with abbreviations was in 1989 (19.7%). The figures for 1979 and 1999 were 10.0% and 12.4% respectively (Table 5.20).

Year of publication	Presence of abbreviations		Name of publication			Total
			aif	ogon	izv	
1979	absent	Count	123	7	670	800
		% within Name of publication	90.4%	100.0%	89.3%	89.6%
	present	Count	13	0	75	88
		% within Name of publication	9.6%	.0%	10.0%	9.9%
	blend	Count	0	0	5	5
		% within Name of publication	.0%	.0%	0.7%	.6%
	Total	Count	136	7	750	893
		% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
1989	absent	Count	226	232	463	921
		% within Name of publication	95.8%	99.1%	76.8%	85.8%
	present	Count	10	1	119	130
		% within Name of publication	4.2%	0.4%	19.7%	12.1%
	blend	Count	0	1	21	22
		% within Name of publication	.0%	0.4%	3.5%	2.1%
	Total	Count	236	234	603	1073
		% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
1999	absent	Count	551	116	466	1133
		% within Name of publication	90.6%	94.3%	80.1%	86.3%
	present	Count	42	6	72	120
		% within Name of publication	6.9%	4.9%	12.4%	9.1%
	blend	Count	15	1	44	60
		% within Name of publication	2.5%	0.8%	7.6%	4.6%
	Total	Count	608	123	582	1313
		% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5. 20: Presence of abbreviations x Year of publication x Name of publication

Blends in 1979 only appeared in *Izvestiia*. They were the names of enterprises such as *Uralmash* or of state institutions, e.g. *Gosplan*. In 1989 it was again *Izvestiia* which used the largest number of them. There were none in *AiF* and only one in *Ogonek*. The use of the blends increased somewhat for all the three publications in 1999.

5.4.2 Content strategies: an overview

The three strategies selected for this section of the study are the news/social actor category (5.4.2.1), the category of subject matter (5.4.2.2) and intertextuality (5.4.2.3). The ‘news/social actor’ category is further subdivided, covering aspects such as affecors and affecteds, their gender, profession and nationality. Also coverd is evaluation of actors in headlines.

5.4.2.1 News/social actors

The category of news/social actor has been discussed in western literature on the language of the press for a number of years. The discussion has shown the importance of this category for attracting readers as well as conveying to them the direction toward a preferred reading of the text. The importance of offering an actor in the Russian publications, too, can be seen from Table 5.21 which shows that just over 40% of headlines do include an actor. The fact that the majority of them (35.4%) are in the main headline is also indicative of their importance as an attraction to readers.

Actor placement		Frequency	Percent
	main head	1160	35.4
	other head	113	3.4
	both	51	1.6
	none	1955	59.6
	Total	3279	100.0

Table 5. 21: Actor placement in headlines

When the information is broken down into individual years and publications then this average figure is broadly true of all the three publications: *AiF* 43.6%, *Izvestiia* 38.1% and *Ogonek* 46.7% (Table 5.22). The situation is somewhat

different when the individual years are compared. *Izvestiia* shows a sustained increase of headlines with an actor year on year, whereas both *AiF* and *Ogonek* reduce such headlines in 1989 but show considerable increases (even when compared with 1979) in 1999; the overall upward trend is there: from 36.8% to 52.1% for *AiF* and 42.9% to 48.8% for *Ogonek* between 1979 and 1999. Table A5.7 in the appendix shows the actual figures (count) as well as the percentages.

Name of publication	Actor placement		Year of publication			Total
			1979	1989	1999	
aif		main head	36.8%	18.6%	52.1%	41.9%
		other head	0.0%	1.7%	0.3%	0.6%
		none	63.2%	79.7%	47.5%	57.4%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ogon		main head	42.9%	32.1%	48.8%	37.9%
		other head	0.0%	0.4%	17.1%	6.0%
		both	0.0%	0.4%	7.3%	2.7%
		none	57.1%	67.1%	26.8%	53.3%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
izv		main head	16.4%	32.5%	50.2%	31.6%
		other head	0.9%	3.3%	10.0%	4.4%
		both	0.0%	1.2%	5.8%	2.1%
		none	82.7%	63.0%	34.0%	61.9%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5. 22.: Actor placement x Year of publication x Name of publication

5.4.2.1.1 Affectors and affecteds¹⁵⁵

The following table (Table 5.23) shows the overall frequencies of affectors and affecteds in the Russian corpus. In all the categories affectors score higher figures than the affecteds and the difference is the greatest in the category of named individual where the affectors predominate by almost 5%.

There was a steady increase over the decades in the number of named individuals that were found in the headlines and this applied to all three publications (Table 5.24). *AiF* and *Ogonek* did not publish any such headlines in 1979 at all and in *Izvestiia* the number was 0.4%.

¹⁵⁵ For the discussion of the terms see chapter 4

Affector	Frequency	Percent	Affected	Frequency	Percent
named individual	287	8.8	named individual	127	3.9
generic/unnamed	273	8.3	generic/unnamed	238	7.3
organization(s)	145	4.4	organization(s)	70	2.1
nation(s)/peoples	23	0.7	nation(s)/peoples	8	0.2
country/state	63	1.9	country/state	36	1.1
other	150	4.6	other	97	3.0
none	2338	71.3	none	2703	82.4
Total	3279	100.0	Total	3279	100.0

Table 5. 23: News actors (affectors and affecteds)

There was a modest increase in 1989 for *AiF* and a somewhat bigger one for the other two publications, but it was in 1999 when the practice became much more wide-spread. *Ogonek* reached a figure of 38.2% and *AiF* and *Izvestiia* hovered at around 16%. A similar trend was noticeable in the category of generic affectors in all the three publications. Having news and social actors on the front page was obviously seen as an important feature.

Tables 5.24 and 5.25 give figures which show the number of affectors per publication. In order to follow the figures it is necessary to bear in mind that out of the total 3279 headlines 287 headlines give named affectors. Of these, 98 headlines were published in *AiF*, 61 in *Ogonek* and 128 in *Izvestiia*. The percentages in the table below take these last three numbers as the starting point (i.e. 100%). Numbers and percentages in the rubrics ‘unspecified’ and ‘other’ can be found in the appendix (Table A5.8 Affectors Number x Name of publication) but have been ignored in the table below in order to be able to compare the figures more easily. For this reason the percentages do not always add up to 100%. The same pattern applies to the category ‘generic unnamed affector’ where the starting figures are 106, 29 and 138 (273 in all).

The majority of headlines only named one affector. Two or more named affectors in the same headline were quite rare (Table 5.25). The same pattern can be

observed in the generic affectors' category, although the numbers are lower overall.

Name of publication			Year of publication			Total
News actors - affectors			1979	1989	1999	
aif		named individual	0.0%	1.7%	15.5%	10.0%
		generic/unnamed	3.7%	5.1%	14.6%	10.8%
		organisation(s)	5.1%	2.1%	2.6%	2.9%
		nation(s)/peoples	0.7%	0.0	0.8%	0.6%
		country/state	2.9%	0.0	1.0%	1.0%
		other	9.6%	0.4%	2.0%	2.7%
		none	77.9%	90.7%	63.5%	72.0%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ogon		named individual	0.0%	6.0%	38.2%	16.8%
		generic/unnamed	0.0%	5.1%	13.8%	8.0%
		organisation(s)	0.0%	0.4%	0.8%	0.5%
		nation(s)/peoples	0.0%	0.0	0.8%	0.3%
		country/state	28.6%	0.9%	1.6%	1.6%
		other	0.0%	9.8%	5.7%	8.2%
		none	71.4%	77.8%	39.0%	64.6%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
izv		named individual	0.4%	5.0%	16.3%	6.6%
		generic/unnamed	3.5%	6.1%	12.9%	7.1%
		organisation(s)	1.6%	5.0%	12.5%	5.9%
		nation(s)/peoples	0.3%	0.2%	2.2%	.8%
		country/state	0.1%	1.7%	6.2%	2.4%
		other	3.9%	9.6%	1.2%	4.9%
		none	90.3%	72.5%	48.6%	72.2%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5. 24: Affectors named individuals x year x publication (%)

A large number of generic affectors (almost two thirds) were placed in the headlines without a specific count (e.g. ‘sociologists’).

	News actors - affectors		aif	ogon	izv	total
one (specific no)		named individual	81	48	103	232
			82.7%	78.7%	80.5%	80.8%
2 or more (specific no)		named individual	17	12	15	44
			17.3%	19.7%	11.7%	15.3%
		Out of	98	61	128	287
one (specific no)		generic/unnamed	30	11	35	76
			28.3%	37.9%	25.4%	27.8%
2 or more (specific no)		generic/unnamed	10	3	5	18
			9.4%	10.3%	3.6%	6.6%
Unspecified no		generic/unnamed	66	15	98	179
			62.3%	51.7%	71.0%	65.6%
		Out of	106	29	138	273

Table 5. 25: Number of affectors in Russian headlines (count and %)

5.4.2.1.2 Gender of news actors

Another aspect of news/social actors that was examined was the category of gender and age. As can be seen from Table 5.26, gender was charted for a variety of categories. The most notable were categories covering adult females and adult males and unclear adults. Age was plotted simply as an opposition of adult and child. The number of children (expressed by terms *children*, *schoolboy*, etc.) was very low, just over half a percent of the whole sample.

News actors	Frequency	Percent
female adult	67	2.0
male adult	494	15.1
male child	2	0.1
F&M adults	16	0.5
F&M children	2	0.1
unclear adults	390	11.9
unclear children	14	0.4
mixed all	66	2.0
unknown	5	0.2
none	2222	67.8
Total	3278	100.0

Table 5. 26: Gender of news actors

The trend in the Russian headlines seems to be the same as noted in the western literature: that is women are found in them rather rarely. Headlines naming women are over seven times less frequent than headlines naming men (Russian corpus, front page headlines). Furthermore, 12% out of the total headlines use a generic masculine term. This category of 'unclear adult' is meant to refer to both men and women (e.g. sociologist, librarians). If it were accepted, however, that the 'unclear adult' category generally refers to men, the presence of males in the headlines would jump to 27% as against the 2% for the females within the whole corpus.

When the practices of the different publications are compared, the results for the named affectors show that female adult named individual in *AiF* occurred in 1.4% of its headlines whereas male adult named individual occurred in 8.1% headlines. The percentage for the same two groups in *Izvestiia* was 0.3% for female and 5.9% for male while in *Ogonek* the figures were 2.2% and 13.2% respectively (see Table A7.6 in the appendix).

The number of cases where named female and male adults were mentioned in the same headline was very small indeed. It did not occur at all in *Izvestiia* and there were 0.3% of such headlines in *AiF* and 1.1% in *Ogonek*. The percentages are out of the total number of headlines for each publication for the three years, *AiF* 980, *Izvestiia* 1935 and *Ogonek* 364).

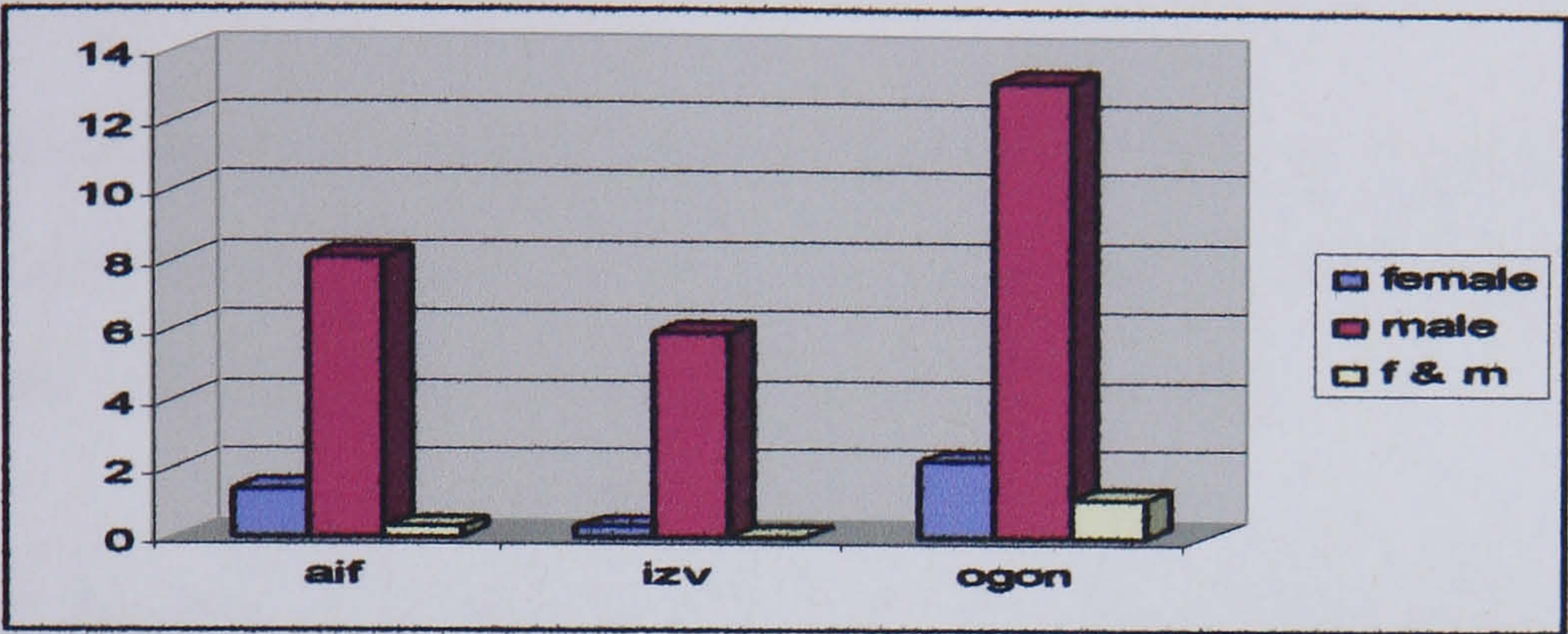


Figure 5. 13: Female and male affectors x named individual x publications (%)

For the generic/unnamed group (e.g. ‘father’ ‘mother’ ‘niece’) there is only a small difference between females and males in *AiF* and in *Ogonek*: 1% female and 1.1% male in *AiF* and 0.8% female and 1.1% male in *Ogonek*, but in *Izvestiia* men are mentioned almost three times more frequently than women even in this category: 0.3% females and 0.8% males .Female and male in the same headline as ‘generic/unnamed’ were also rare - the figures were 0.3%, 0.1% and 0.1% for *AiF*, *Izvestiia* and *Ogonek* respectively.

Figure 5.14 shows the parallel percentages for the affecteds. As can be seen, the named adult females are many times less frequently mentioned than males, with the highest percentage, 0.8%, in *Ogonek* headlines and the lowest in *Izvestiia*, a mere 0.1%. Similar situation is noted in the number of headlines mentioning both female and male individuals; *Izvestiia* and *AiF* are barely there, with 0.1% and 0.2% respectively.

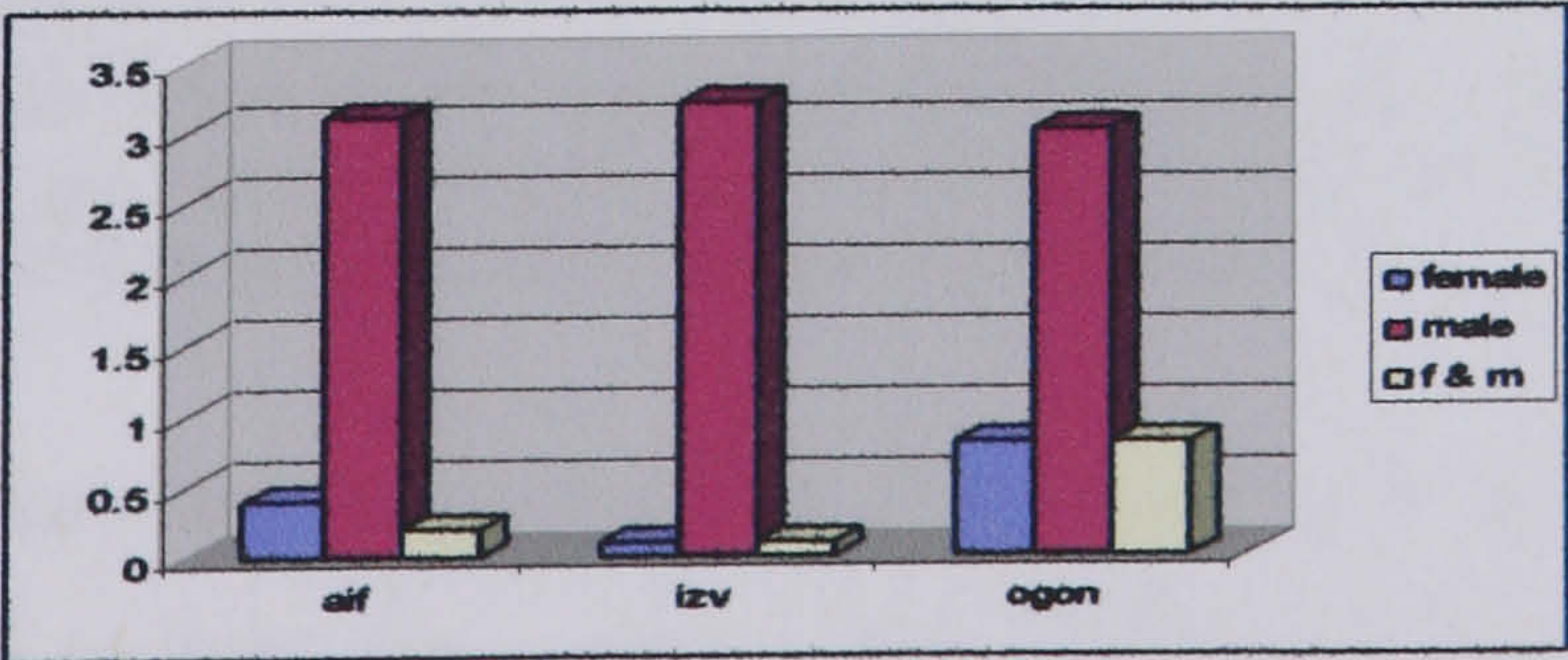


Figure 5. 14: Female and male affecteds x named individual x publications (%)

There are differences in the generic/unnamed category. The female affecteds occur in 0.6% of *AiF* headlines and the male affecteds occur in 0.9%. The figures for *Izvestiia* are 0.1% for female and 1.0% for male affecteds - that is ten times more than for the female. In *Ogonek* the figure is 0.1% for both female and male affecteds.

AiF used the category of ‘unclear adult affectors’, the category applicable to men and women alike, most frequently, in 7.1% of its headlines, followed by *Izvestiia* with 5.8% and *Ogonek* with 4.7% over the three years totals.

The category ‘unclear adult affecteds’ is used least by *AiF* headline writers, being found in 0.8% of *AiF* headlines. *Izvestiia* and *Ogonek* use this category somewhat more frequently (5.1% and 3.8% respectively).

Western researchers (Kleinke, 2000; Dijk, 1991) found that when women are referred to in headlines, they tend to be more frequently seen as affecteds (victims or beneficiaries) rather than affectors. However, the Russian data collected for this study does not follow this pattern (Table 5.27). The overall numbers of affecteds for women in all the three publications are about three times lower than for affectors and for men in *AiF* and *Izvestiia* around twice. In *Ogonek* the difference is greater – over four times so. It would seem that the Russian reading public prefers to see their news actors as affectors rather than affecteds, at least on the front pages.

Female named individuals	aif	izv	ogon	Male named individuals	aif	izv	ogon
affectors	1.4%	0.3%	2.2%	affectors	8.1%	5.9%	13.2%
affected	0.4%	0.1%	0.8%	affected	3.1%	3.2%	3.0%

Table 5. 27:Comparison of female and male named individuals (affectors and affecteds) in the three publications (percentages out of the total headlines over the three years of each named publication, *AiF* 980, *Izvestiia* 1935, *Ogonek* 364 headlines).

When the three years are compared for the presence of news actors, another development comes to light: the severe deficit of affectors and affecteds of either

gender in 1979. Table 5.28 shows the figures as a percentage of the total headlines for the year of each publication.

Year	F/M	aif	izv	ogon
1979	female	0.7% (out of 136)	0.3% (out of 750)	0% (out of 7)
	male	2.2% (out of 136)	6.7 % (out of750)	0% (out of 7)
1989	female	1.3% (out of 236)	0.8 % (out of 603)	1.3% (out of 234)
	male	3.0% (out of 236)	12.6% (out of 603)	19.7% (out of 234)
1999	female	5.3% (out of 608)	1.0 % (out of 582)	12.2% (out of 123)
	male	22.0% (out of 608)	22.7% (out of 582)	37.4% (out of 123)

Table 5. 28: Appearance of female and male news actors (percentage of the yearly figures for each publication)

The increases year on year are quite large for both females and males. In *AiF* the figures for female news actors double between 1979 and 1989 and quadruple between 1989 and 1999; *Ogonek* shows a ninefold increase between 1989 and 1999. The figures in *Izvestiia* go from 0.3% to 0.8% to 1%. The increase in the number of headlines between 1989 and 1999 in which male news actors occur has gone from 3% to 22% in *AiF*, 12.6% to 22.7% in *Izvestiia* and 19.7% to 37.4% in *Ogonek*.

The unclear adult category was favoured more in the Soviet period than specific male or female affector: *AiF* started with 8.8% in 1979 and *Izvestiia* with 6.1%. In 1999 their figures were 15.1% for *AiF* and 18.0% for *Izvestiia*. The number of such headlines in *Ogonek* jumped from zero to 9.8% in 1989 but then barely rose to 10.6%.

Although the increase of female news actors in the Russian headlines is steeper than that of male news actors, the overall proportion of female to male news actors is still very low. However, both categories are increasing.

5.4.2.1.3 Occupations of news actors

Another aspect examined in the study is the distribution of occupations between the genders. Over the years there was a shift in the occupations of the news actors. In 1979 people involved in finance, economy and religion, as well as lawyers, journalists and sportsmen did not get mentioned on the front pages of the studied publications at all. The only two occupations that were noted often enough to rise

above one percent were politicians (3.9% Soviet ones, 2.2% foreign ones, mostly from the socialist, friendly and non-aligned countries) and the generic term ‘workers’ (1.3%).

Still in 1979, various farming professions were the next closest group with 0.9%. The remainder occurred mostly singly and included people working in education, the army and various sciences; many of these were generic terms. There were also two headlines mentioning the ‘unemployed’ but as was to be expected they were in the capitalist West, not the Soviet Union.

There were slight increases in 1989 in most of these categories except farming, where the percentage went down to 0.6%, and in politics where it went up (5.6% Soviet, 6.3% foreign). Some of the occupations previously not occurring in the front page headlines were in finances and economy, the visual arts and sport, although the numbers were very small.

The situation changed in 1999. There was an increase of headlines naming domestic politicians - to 14.1%, while foreign politicians occurred less frequently. Occupations and professions previously not found included legal personnel, people involved in finance and economy, but also criminals and terrorists. There were headlines with journalists, sportsmen, policemen and soldiers. The generic workers who were absent in 1989 returned in a small number of headlines, too. The number of headlines with farming occupations slumped as did the ones about the unemployed. Most of the occupations noted were held exclusively by men.

In 1979 women were mentioned in the headlines three times; of these one was in farming (a milkmaid) and the other two headlines did not specify the women’s occupations (Table 5.29).

Gender of news actors (Female adult)		Year of publication			Total
Name of publication		1979	1989	1999	
	aif	1	3	32	36
	izv	2	5	6	13
	ogon	0	3	15	18
Total		3	11	53	67

Table 5. 29: Distribution of female adults over the three publications and years

The situation was not much different in 1989. There were eleven women mentioned in the front page headlines: two were working in the arts (0.2%) and there was another farmer (0.1%). There were four women (0.4%) whose employment was not specified and four women (0.4%) who were involved in politics – however, none of them was Russian. Mrs. Thatcher was mentioned twice, the generic term Queen occurred once and the French minister E. Cresson was named in the fourth headline.

Only in 1999 were women mentioned in other fields, although compared to men, the numbers were low (Table 5.30 below).

In the 143 headlines where jobs were in domestic politics, only five were held by women. The one category where women came closest, were visual and performing arts. Out of 36 headlines women were noted as holding these jobs in 14, just a fraction over a third. In most of the other categories women were not represented at all.

The distribution of the headlines with women was not equal across the three publications. In 1999 *Izvestiia* published only six headlines with women. For three of them (one a generic term, two other named individuals) no occupations were given, e.g.:

Американские женщины боятся компьютерного домогательства (241 izv99/4f)
Amerikanskiie zhenshchiny boiatsia komp'iuternogo domogatel'stva
'American women are afraid of computer solicitation'

One headline was introducing an interview with a woman journalist about women in politics, one was a comment on the murdered Galina Starovoitova being honoured by the Americans, and the last one was about a regional cultural worker who was banned from a church.

Just under a third (15 out of 53) of the headlines for 1999 in which women were mentioned was published in *Ogonek*. Five of those appeared as generic terms, e.g. 'girl'. Of the remainder several were writers/poets or artists/painters, one a potential politician; Princess Diana, Brezhnev's niece, and Marlene Dietrich complete the list. These headlines were on the whole gossipy, tongue-in-cheek or gently ironic.

Employment	Gender	1979	1989	1999	Total
Domestic politics	female adult	0	0	5 (0.4%)	6
	male adult	33 (3.7%)	35 (3.3%)	137 (10.4%)	205
	unclear adults	2 (0.2%)	25 (2.3%)	43 (3.3%)	70
Natural sciences	male adult	0	2 (0.2%)	6 (0.5%)	8
	unclear adults	5 (0.6%)	2 (0.2%)	7 (0.5%)	14
Humanities	male adult	0	1 (0.1%)	1 (0.1%)	2
	unclear adults	1 (0.1%)	0	0	1
Workers	male adult	0	0	2 (0.2%)	2
	unclear adults	12 (1.3%)	3 (0.3%)	2 (0.2%)	17
Unemployed	male adult	0	1 (0.1%)	0	1
	unclear adults	2 (0.2%)	0	0	2
Crime/terrorism	male adult	0	0	4 (0.3%)	4
	unclear adults	1 (0.1%)	0	15 (1.1%)	16
Law	male adult	0	0	14 (1.1%)	14
	unclear adults	0	0	3 (0.2%)	3
Finance/industry/economy	male adult	0	0	14 (1.1%)	14
	unclear adults	0	3 (0.3%)	13 (1.0%)	16
Journalism/media	female adult	0	0	1 (0.1%)	1
	male adult	0	0	11 (0.8%)	11
	unclear adults	0	1 (0.1%)	4 (0.3%)	5
Visual arts	female adult	0	1 (0.1%)	14 (1.1%)	15
	male adult	0	10 (0.9%)	22 (1.7%)	32
	unclear adults	1 (0.1%)	6 (0.6%)	7 (0.5%)	14
Writer/poet/composer	female adult	0	1 (0.1%)	4 (0.3%)	5
	male adult	0	21 (2.0%)	16 (1.2%)	37
	unclear adults	0	6 (0.6%)	2 (0.2%)	8
Sports	male adult	0	2 (0.2%)	5 (0.4%)	7
	unclear adults	0	1 (0.1%)	8 (0.6%)	9
Religion	male adult	0	0	3 (0.2%)	3
	unclear adults	0	1 (0.1%)	4 (0.3%)	5
Military/police	male adult	0	4 (0.4%)	11 (0.8%)	15
	unclear adults	1 (0.1%)	3 (0.3%)	23 (1.8%)	27
Other	female adult	0	0	3 (0.2%)	3
	male adult	0	1 (0.1%)	13 (1.0%)	14
	F&M adults	0	0	2 (0.2%)	2
	unclear adults	3 (0.3%)	10 (0.9%)	16 (1.2%)	29
Farming	female adult	1 (0.1%)	1 (0.1%)	0	2
	unclear adults	8 (0.9%)	5 (0.5%)	0	13
Foreign politics	female adult	0	4 (0.4%)	4 (0.3%)	8
	male adult	18 (2.0%)	45 (4.2%)	27 (2.1%)	90
	F&M adults	0	1 (0.1%)	2 (0.2%)	3
	unclear adults	2 (0.2%)	17 (1.6%)	12 (0.9%)	31
Education	male adult	0	2 (0.2%)	0	2
	unclear adults	1 (0.1%)	3 (0.3%)	1 (0.1%)	5
Not given	female adult	2 (0.2%)	4 (0.4%)	19 (1.4%)	24
	male adult	2 (0.2%)	5 (0.5%)	18 (1.4%)	25
	F&M adults	0	0	5 (0.4%)	5
	unclear adults	14 (1.6%)	35 (3.3%)	43 (3.3%)	92

Table 5. 30: Gender x employment (% given for the combined publications in each year)

The largest number of headlines (32 out of 57) with female actors (in 1999) was published in *AiF*. Again, some of these were generic expressions such as

‘mother’, ‘a female TV star’, ‘girl’, and ‘woman’ and no occupations were given. In several headlines a female generic term was linked with a well-known male, e.g. ‘Skuratov’s wife’, ‘Brezhnev’s niece’ and ‘Stalin’s granddaughter’, usually this introduced some ‘revelation’ about the man, and the woman’s occupation was not offered. Several headlines, though generic in their nature, provided information of the woman’s employment, e.g.:

Из «интердевочек» - в майоры милиции (39aif99/3m)
Iz ‘interdevochek’ – v maiory militsii
 ‘From a prostitute to police major’

The intriguing headline ‘Gagarin’s female predecessors’¹⁵⁶ (14aif99/2b) was included in this group.

Two other groups can be separated: one includes headlines with named women performers (actors, singers), poets and writers, most of whom are Russian and whose profession is not given explicitly, but because they are well-known, readers would be aware of their occupation, e.g.:

Галина Вишневская о Родине, музыке и любви (1aif99/3b)
Galina Vishnevskaiia o Rodine, muzyke I liubvi
 ‘Galina Vyshnevskaiia about motherland, music and love’

The other group includes women who were involved in politics. There are several non-Russians, Madeleine Albright, Margaret Thatcher labelled as the Iron Lady, Monica Lewinski and Angela Davies. The Russians are represented by Diachenko and Starovoitova; Raisa Gorbacheva is labelled as ‘The First Lady of the USSR’ and Yeltsin’s daughter and Luzhkov’s wife are introduced as ‘The Kremlin princess and Moscow grand duchess’ (23aif99/3c).

The category ‘unclear adults’ covers generic terms such as ‘sociologist/s’ or ‘farmer/s’. It is impossible to say whether any of these were women.

¹⁵⁶ Gagarin was the first human (a man) astronaut (1961). The reference in the headline is to the female dogs, the first of whom was sent into space in 1957

5.4.2.1.4 Nationality of news actors

Predictably enough in 1979 the nationality, or citizenship or statehood, of the few news actors was overwhelmingly Soviet, 5.7%, with just one case (0.1%) Russian (see Table A5.9 in the appendix). In 8.2% of cases it was not given at all and 5.2% of cases were of some other nationality. These cases were extremely wide-ranging and included nationalities from all parts of the world.

In 1989 the situation was similar, Soviet subjects accounted for 5.5%, Russian for 0.4%, the group 'other' increased to 6.8% and not given also increased to 12.7%. It is likely that many headlines in this category were Russian or Soviet but there was no way to tell from the headline alone, e.g. 'A six year old hero' (65izv89/2b) or 'Consumers will have the final word' (65izv89/1a). There was a consistent though not very steep, increase of Soviet and Russian subjects in combination with 'other' (e.g. The USSR and other socialist countries, or Brezhnev and Castro). The category that was increasing more rapidly was that of 'assumed Russian': e.g. 'A candidate – major Fiodorov' (50izv89/3a).

The situation was reversed in 1999 when barely any headlines had the moniker Soviet (down to 0.7%), and Russian became the nationality (or citizenship) of the day (up to 9.1%). The number within the sub-section 'assumed Russian' grew fourfold, from 5.5 to 21.5%. All in all, all the categories except Soviet increased to some degree.

5.4.2.1.3 News/social actor in the genitive case

A sub-section was included within each of the two categories of affectors and affecteds – the sub-section 'other'. In there gathered together were nominal phrases where news actors were placed in the genitive case (see Table 5.31). In some headlines the noun in the genitive was clearly an affector, in others an affected.

Новогоднее приветствие Юрия Лужкова (9izv99/2a)
Novogodneie privetstviie Iuriiia Luzhkova
'New Year's greeting by Iurii Luzhkov'

In the headline above Luzhkov is in fact the affector, the person who is offering the greetings. Similarly, in the headline

Приёмы неокolonизаторов (4aif79/3e)
Priiomy neokolonizatorov
‘The tricks of the neocolonisers’

the ‘neocolonisers’ are the ones who have devised or are using certain tricks, and so are the affectors.

Affector	Frequency	Percent	Affected	Frequency	Percent
other	150	4.6	other	97	3.0

Table 5. 31: News actors in the genitive case:

A smaller number of headlines shows affecteds in the form of genitive, for example:

Положение женщин в мире капитала (3aif79.2a)
Polozheniie zhenshchin v mire kapitala
‘Position/situation of women in the capitalist world’

Simply looking at matters from a grammar point of view is therefore not enough, the meaning needs to be uncovered first.

5.4.2.1.4 Evaluation of headlines with news actors

Findings presented above have shown that evaluation became a more popular device as time went by. In this section the focus is on evaluation of headlines with news actors.

Kleinke (2000) noted that women, when referred to in headlines at all, tend to be described in a negative way more frequently than men. This is supported by the Russian data, too (Table 5.32.). However, the data shows that women are also evaluated positively more often than men.

Gender of news actors		Evaluation in headline						Totals
		evaluative – positive	imp pos ev	evaluative – negative	imp neg ev	other	non-evaluative	
female adult	No. of headlines	6	2	6	4	6	43	67
	%	9.0%	3.0%	9.0%	6.0%	9.0%	64.2%	100.0%
male adult	No. of headlines	24	9	34	14	37	376	494
	%	4.9%	1.8%	6.9%	2.8%	7.5%	76.1%	100.0%

Table 5. 32: Evaluation in headlines with news actors (gender)

The first finding is that women are evaluated more than men. The headlines in which gender is given are non-evaluative in 64.2% of cases with females but in 76.1% cases with males: this means that 35.8% of headlines with females and only 23.9% with males are evaluative, that is almost a 12% difference . When the different evaluative categories are compared, whether they are positive or negative, overtly or merely implied, the percentages for women are consistently higher than for men. Because the actual number of headlines with women is so much smaller than with men, the evaluative element acquires a greater significance.

As far as the comparison of negative and positive evaluation is concerned, women show equal levels of overtly positive as well as overtly negative evaluation, whereas where the evaluation is only implied, the negative evaluation is found in a greater number of headlines. Men seem to be evaluated more negatively than positively in both overtly and covertly evaluative headlines. Unlike the western findings women in Russian headlines are seen in a more positive light than men almost twice more frequently, though similarly they are evaluated negatively more often than men by about a third.

The category 'unclear adults' (Table 5.33) seems to be evaluated as much as the category 'female adults', 35.1% of headlines display evaluation. The negative evaluation occurs in 15.9% of headlines, whereas positive evaluation is found only in 7.2% of evaluative headlines. In this respect the unclear adults category is treated more like the adult male category.

Gender of news actors		Evaluation in headline						Total
		evaluative -positive	imp pos ev	evaluative -negative	imp neg ev	other	non-evaluative	
Unclear adult	% within Gender of news actors	7.2%	3.3%	15.9%	4.1%	4.6%	64.9%	100.0%

Table 5. 33: Evaluation x unclear adult

5.4.2.2 Subject matter

The lexical field findings correspond with expectations both regarding the individual publications and the individual years. In 1979 three areas were responsible for a lion's share of the headlines: one was political rhetoric which accounted for 17.5% of all headlines, the other two were agriculture and industry, (11.6% and 12.5% respectively (see Table A5.10 in the appendix). International politics also scored highly, with 10.4%, whereas domestic policy reached only half of that number. Political rhetoric headlines were found in both *AiF* and *Izvestiia*, agriculture and industry in *Izvestiia* only.

Other topics were not found in the 1979 corpus at all. These included religion, Russian secret services, disasters, bizarre stories and also terrorism, prostitution and pornography. No headlines were found dealing with old age, either.

In 1989 there was a severe drop in the three lexical fields that were prominent in 1979. Headlines with political rhetoric dropped to just over three percent, and interest in agriculture and industry also fell (from 11.6% and 12.5% down to 2% and 1.5% respectively). There was an increase of headlines dealing with international politics (from 10.4% to 17.5%) and with domestic politics (5.2% to 12.8%).

The publications also offered articles dealing with feelings and human angle stories (almost 11 fold increase from 0.4% to 4.3%). Two headlines with religious topics and six headlines about the elderly were printed as were four bizarre stories. The percentage is minute, below one per cent; nevertheless the appearance of the topics is significant because it shows a relaxation of state/Party

control. Similarly, the arts featured more prominently in the corpus, both high and popular arts (almost 6% between them). This was almost entirely due to *Ogonek*; the other two publications offering such topics in very small numbers. It was also *Ogonek* that published front-page headlines on religious and ethnicity topics.

The year 1999 saw the introduction of subjects not mentioned in the two other years as well as an increase in some that were barely covered in the earlier periods. As the variety of topics increased, the percentages tended to be smaller for each one. Political rhetoric almost entirely disappeared (down to 0.1%). The interest in domestic politics diminished very slightly on the previous period (from 12.8% to 12.6%). The interest in foreign politics took a decidedly back seat (from 17.5% to 5.8%), as people worried more about domestic issues, particularly economy and finance (up almost 3% from 1989).

There was a manifold increase in headlines dealing with law and the judiciary, crime, police and the military (combined %: 1% in 1979 to 4.9% in 1989 and 9.9% in 1999).

Of the six headlines on the military topic published in 1979 (Table 5.34), two referred positively to the USSR and other socialist countries, three referred to NATO in a negative way and one did not specifically refer to anybody but accused *them*, (the western powers are implied) using a passive construction without naming the agent, of exacerbating the arms race. All of these headlines appeared in *AiF* (details of individual publications in Table A5.11 in the appendix).

Year of publication		Evaluation in headline						Total
		military	evaluative - positive	imp pos ev	evaluative -negative	imp neg ev	other	
1979	Count		2	0	3	1	0	6
	% within Evaluation in headline		1.6%	.0%	5.4%	14.3%	0.0%	.7%
1989	Count		2	0	2	0	1	29
	% within Evaluation in headline		2.7%	.0%	2.8%	0.0%	2.3%	2.7%
1999	Count		1	1	7	3	5	52
	% within Evaluation in headline		1.7%	2.8%	4.0%	5.2%	5.6%	4.0%

Table 5. 34: Evaluation of the lexical field (military)

In 1989 and 1999 only three headlines with this subject matter were explicitly positively evaluative. There was no referent although it is probable that the headlines referred to the USSR or Russia, e.g.:

На позициях реального разоружения (15aif89/1a)
Na pozitsiikh real'nogo razoruzheniia
'Set for real disarmament'

Only one headline with implicitly positive evaluation was found (1999 corpus) and it referred to Russia. Of the negative headlines four referred specifically to Russia and in six other headlines Russia was implied. None referred to the West (1989 and 1999 corpora). The majority of headlines dealing with the military matters were non-evaluative.

Other topics (subjects) that appeared in the 1999 corpus were terrorism, both foreign and domestic (mainly in the Caucasus, and related to the war in Chechnia), and the war in the Balkans. The Russian secret service also made its first appearance. There was a small number of sport-related headlines and an increase was noted in the popular arts (TV, films, music etc.) and in headlines with religious topics but not necessarily of a serious nature. However, serious topics were included, for example the number of headlines on the mass media and censorship increased from 0.6% in 1979 to 3.7% in 1999, and articles dealing with the situation of the older as well as the young people also fractionally increased. Headlines with a human angle or dealing with people's feelings were on the increase, too (0.4% in 1979, 4.3% in 1989 and 7.6% in 1999), as was leisure. More headlines were devoted to various bizarre stories and disasters. Topics related to health were found ten times more frequently (from 0.4% in 1979 to 4.1% in 1999, yet the number of headlines dealing with the environment remained at the level of 1989. A number of ambiguous headlines dropped from 19.4% in 1989 to 12.4% and a number of additional topics (or one-off topics) increased from 3.2% to 6.2%. (Table A5.12 in the appendix). These included information about what drinks would be provided at the Oscars ceremony (49izv99/3c), the announcement about a forthcoming census (49izv99/4f), a potential threat to food aid to Russia (81izv99/4c), search for missing persons (31ogon99/3a) and speculation about food in the 21st century (18aif99/3f) among others.

5.4.2.3 Intertextuality

Another means of attracting readers’ attention is by the use of intertextuality. In the Russian corpus, intertextuality was used more frequently as the 21st century approached (Table 5.35).

	1979	1989	1999	Mean
AiF	7.4%	9.3%	14.8%	12.4%
Izv	3.0%	3.6%	12.7%	6.5%
Ogon	14.3%	16.7%	28.5%	20.6%

Table 5. 35: Intertextuality in individual years and publications

As can be seen in Table 5.36, the overall number of headlines displaying various forms of intertextuality is just under ten per cent. The most frequent type is quotation. The first part of the headline, in the example below, is based on a quotation from a speech allegedly made by Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s¹⁵⁷ in which she apparently compared Russia to Upper Volta with missiles:

Мы – Верхняя Вольта, но наш бронепоезд ... (6aif99/3d)
My - Verkhniaia Volta, no nash branepoezd...
‘We are Upper Volta, but our armoured train... [is in the siding]

Intertextuality	Frequency	Percent
sayings/idioms	30	.9
literature	56	1.7
TV	4	.1
other	85	2.6
slogan	39	1.2
fairy tales	13	.4
films	6	.2
songs	4	.1
history	9	.3
quotation	77	2.3
none	2956	90.1
Total	3279	100.0

Table 5. 36: Intertextuality – different sources

The second half of the headline refers to a revolutionary song from the 1920s which says: ‘We are peaceful people but our armoured train stands in the siding...’.

¹⁵⁷ Although several references to the speech were located, the speech itself was not found.

The next most popular source of intertextual headlines in the collected material was literature. The earlier headlines tended to use Russian and Soviet classics, in the following years the allusions became more wide-ranging, echoing both Russian and foreign literature.

Делом славится человек: И мастерство, и вдохновенье (215izv79)
Delom slavitskia chelovek. I masterstvo I vdokhnoveniie
 'Man gains fame by his deeds: Both mastery and inspiration'

Как Расторгуев чуть с Шевчуком не подрался (1aif99)
Kak Rastorguiev chut' s Shevchukom ne podralsia
 'How Rostorguiev and Shevchuk almost came to blows'

The references to Russian classics, Pushkin and Gogol' respectively in the examples above, are readily recognisable in the above headlines. Foreign literature, generally British and American works, are fairly frequently used for allusive purposes, although most of these are older, generally 19th century authors. Included in the literature figures are biblical references. These have not been found in the 1979 sample, but can be found in 1989 and particularly in 1999 headlines. Echoes of Jesus driving from the temple all those who sold and bought goods there (Matthew 21:12) are heard in the following headline about a woman official banned from a church in Tula.

Изгнание чиновницы из храма
 Заведующую тульской культурой запрещено пускать в церковь
 (137izv99)
Izgnaniie chinovnitsy iz khrama
Zaveduiushchuiu tul'skoj kul'turoj zapreshcheno puskat' v tserkov'
'Expulsion of woman official from temple
 Manageress of Tula cultural department banned from entering church'

Another frequently used source of intertextuality identified in the studied material was the slogan. Two examples were chosen for illustration, one from 1979, the other from 1999. They are discussed in chapter 7:

Под знаменем мира и труда (1aif79)
Pod znamenem mira I truda
 'Under the banner of peace and work'

'Хочу в депутаты' политическая программа Дарьи Асламовой
 «Землю-крестьянам! Воду – матросам! Ацидофилин –
 ацидофилам¹⁵⁸!» (35ogon99)

¹⁵⁸ The word hasn't yet found its way into the dictionaries and a number of the Russian informants (as of February 2006) had no idea of what it might mean. The translation is pure guesswork playing with the sounds rather than insisting on the meaning. JH

'Chochu v deputaty' politicheskaiia programma Dar'i Aslamovoj
"Zemliu –krestianam! Vodu – matrosam! Atsidofilin – atsidofilam!
 ' "I want to become a deputy" the political programme of Daria Aslamova
 "Land to the peasants! Water to the sailors! Acidic milk to acid users!!" ' "

The next source for intertextual headlines in the collected material as far as frequency was concerned, were sayings, idioms and fixed or idiomatic phrases.

За ширмой «равновесия страха» (3aif79)
Za shirmoi 'ravnovesiia strakha
 'Behind the screen of 'the balance of fear' ' "

Fairytales have also been identified as a popular source of intertextuality. Some headlines exploit a well-known segment from a story, others rework it, leaving enough to allow readers fairly easy recognition (see chapter 7).

A trend to turn to popular culture for inspiration started in 1989 and became even more pronounced in the 1999 corpus. Headline writers turned to television serials, films and popular songs to make their point.

Several variations of a saying by an investigator from a popular detective TV series *Mesto vstrechi izmenit' nel'zia* 'The meeting place cannot be changed' were found. The quote 'The thief should be in prison' was, and still is, well known, and applicable to a variety of situations:

Вор, даже если он депутат, должен сидеть в тюрьме (42aif99)
Vor, dazhe iesli on deputat, dolzhen sidet' v tiur'me
 'The thief, even if he is an MP, should be in prison' "

The references to films included both old Soviet and contemporary Russian and foreign cinematographic works. An old Soviet film, *Москва слезам не верит* 'Moscow does not trust tears' enjoyed particular popularity and appeared in several variations. Below is one of them:

Московским слезам провинция не верит (25aif99)
Moskovskim slezam provintsiia ne verit
 'The provinces do not trust Moscow tears' "

Very much embedded in the popular culture are headlines based on songs. The following headline is based on a song by Vladimir Vysotskii *Okhota na volkov* 'Hunting wolves'.

Юрий Маслюков: «Мы как волки, которых обложили флажками»
(12aif99/3a)

Iurii Masliukov: "My kak volki, kotorykh oblozhili flazhkami"

'Iurii Masliukov: We are like wolves trapped by a string with little flags'

A number of headlines were difficult to pigeonhole and were placed in the subcategory *other*. Two examples are given below to illustrate this. The first headline topped an article about army recruits.

Родина послала (205 izv99)

Rodina poslala

'Motherland sent [them] ...'

Another, a story about a surgeon who mended people's noses damaged in accidents, exploits the phrase Nobel prize winner. Furthermore, *Shnobelevskaia premiia* rhymes with *Nobelevskaia premiia*, the Russian version of Nobel prize:

Лауреат «шнобелевской» премии (17aif99)

Laureat 'shnobelevskoi' premii

'Winner of the "Schnozzle" prize'

Whatever the approach to the use of other texts, they all make the headline more attractive and more easily remembered.

5.4.3 Typological strategies

Two typological strategies were included in the study – one was the number of words per headline and the other the number of decks per headline.

5.4.3.1 Number of words in headlines

In the Russian sample taken overall, the largest number of main headlines (26.3%) had just three words per headline (Table 5.37). Two- and four-word long headlines followed closely, and five-word heads were also in double figures. Thus the majority of headlines (around 80%) were composed of two to five words.

Unexpected differences were noted, however, between the three years under scrutiny. The number of headlines with two words was highest in 1979 (Table 5.38) and decreased quite considerably over the next two decades.

Nuner of words per headline		Frequency	Percent
Valid	1	46	1.4
	2	621	18.9
	3	862	26.3
	4	644	19.6
	5	458	14.0
	6	247	7.5
	7	150	4.6
	8	93	2.8
	9	50	1.5
	10	37	1.1
	11-45	40	1.3
	Total	3279	100.0

Table 5. 37: Main headline word count (Russian heads)

This tallies with the diminished use of topic headlines. Three-word headlines went up in 1989 but dropped significantly by 1999. Quite striking was the considerable increase of headlines with four or more words in them.

Number of words in headline		Year of publication			Total
		1979	1989	1999	
1	Count	3	25	18	46
	% within Year of publication	.3%	2.3%	1.4%	1.4%
2	Count	295	198	128	621
	%	33.0%	18.5%	9.7%	18.9%
3	Count	286	384	192	862
	%	32.0%	35.8%	14.6%	26.3%
4	Count	126	220	298	644
	%	14.1%	20.5%	22.7%	19.6%
5	Count	78	126	254	458
	%	8.7%	11.7%	19.3%	14.0%
6	Count	29	52	166	247
	%	3.2%	4.8%	12.6%	7.5%
7	Count	23	28	99	150
	%	2.6%	2.6%	7.5%	4.6%
8	Count	12	15	66	93
	%	1.3%	1.4%	5.0%	2.8%
9	Count	6	5	39	50
	%	.7%	.5%	3.0%	1.5%
10	Count	9	8	20	37
	%	1.0%	.7%	1.5%	1.1%
	11-45 worded heads				40
	Count	893	1073	1313	3279
Total	% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5. 38: Main headline word count * Year of publication

Table 5.39 below shows the distribution of words per main headline in the individual publications in the three years studied (only word counts which occurred in 5% or more cases are included). In 1979 *AiF* favoured three and four word headlines, *Ogonek* showed a preference for longer headlines (of five words) and *Izvestiia* went in for two and three word headlines. In 1989 the preferred headline for all three publications had three words, *AiF* and *Ogonek* also using headlines with two words in just under a third of their headlines, whereas *Izvestiia* favouring headlines with four words.

There is a general tendency to use a greater variety of headline length in 1999, with *AiF* offering four and five words in over half of its headlines, *Ogonek* using two words in 18.7% of its headline, but five and six words in almost 30% of headlines and *Izvestiia* making greatest use of headlines with four, five and six words.

Number of words		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1979	AiF	8.1	25.7	25.7	17.6	11.8			
	Ogon	14.3	14.3	14.3	42.9	0	0	14.3	
	Izv	37.7	33.3	12.0					
1989	AiF	29.7	40.3	13.6					
	Ogon	26.5	38.9	19.7	9.4				
	Izv	10.8	33.0	23.5	14.3				
1999	AiF	8.9	19.2	30.8	21.2	9.7			
	Ogon	18.7	12.2	11.4	14.6	14.6	6.5		
	Izv	8.8	10.3	16.7	18.4	15.5	9.6	8.2	5.0

Table 5. 39: Number of words per main headline per year per publication (showing percentages of 5% and over)

5.4.3.2 Decks

The majority of the Russian headlines, when averaged out, had one deck (86.6%) with just 13.2% of headlines having two or more decks (Table 5.40). *AiF* used only one deck headlines throughout 1979, and although it went on to use some headlines with subheads in 1989 and 1999, the numbers were very small, 2.5% and 2.1% respectively. Straplines were not used at all. *Ogonek* followed a similar pattern: 100% of headlines in 1979 and 98.7% in 1989 were main headlines only. However, in 1999 it changed its style substantially: 47.2% of its headlines had either a strapline or both a strapline and a subhead and 12.2% of its headlines had

a subhead. *Izvestiia* was the only publication that used the different styles of headlines all the time, although single headlines were predominant throughout the whole period: 87.7% in 1979, 81.4% in 1989 and 76.1% in 1999. Any considerable divergence therefore occurred in 1999, with the two earlier years showing more similarities than differences.

Number of decks		Frequency	Percent
	one	2841	86.6
	main and subhead	224	6.8
	other	214	6.5
	Total	3279	100.0

Table 5. 40: Number of decks

5.5 Summary

The material of the Russian corpus of headlines was investigated and the quantitative analysis was achieved with the help of the statistical package SPSS. The aim of the study was to observe whether any changes in structure and lexis occurred in Russian headlines over the period of twenty years and what linguistic means were employed in order to realise their textual and cognitive functions and to evaluate these changes¹⁵⁹.

Headline infrastructure, as the findings about the usage of mutually exclusive strategies demonstrated, has changed quite considerably over the years. This was particularly noticeable in the decline of topic-naming headlines and an increase of summarising and erotetic headlines, the latter especially in the 1989 body of material. The changes in headline infrastructure were supported by results obtained from the analysis of syntactic strategies, especially completeness and complexity of sentences, which paralleled the changes in the mutually exclusive strategies, as well as the typological strategies where the word count in particular corroborated the growth of summarising headlines and decline of topic-naming headlines.

¹⁵⁹ The evaluation follows in chapter 7

The sections on stylistic strategies provided information about the various linguistic means that were employed by headline writers at different times. The findings revealed changes in playfulness with language, an overall increase from 1979 to 1999 and broadly in all three publications. The use of rhetorical figures on the other hand showed an overall decline, with only a few of them increasing. Language formality also changed, with more colloquial language appearing on the front pages. Evaluation, an important aspect of headlines, exhibited two main tendencies: The number of evaluative headlines increased between 1979 and 1999, in the same period there was a shift from positive evaluation to negative evaluation. Disparate trends were observed in abbreviations: acronyms were used less often in 1999 than in 1979 whereas blends displayed growth.

In the section on content strategies attention was concentrated on the analysis of news actors. Different types (affectors and affecteds) were separated and findings were displayed based on the statistical data about their gender, occupations, nationality and their evaluation. The extensive use of the news actors in all the three publications in 1999 was noted as well as the slow penetration of women into the headline texts. The evaluation of news actors revealed that women were evaluated more than men, both negatively and positively. The occupations of news actors exposed the fact that men were linked to jobs much more often than women.

The subject matter findings demonstrated a number of changes, with some earlier topics disappearing and new ones making their appearance. The last of the content strategies focused on in the study was that of intertextuality. It was placed in the content strategies because it is the content rather than language that is used in the headlines. The different types were studied and the sources used in the headlines were singled out and illustrated.

Thus the findings have shown that Russian headlines have indeed changed both linguistically and in their structure. The language tools employed by the writers of headlines have been adapted or changed in order to support the various functions expected of headlines in Russian society at different times.

The following chapter (Chapter 6) presents the data gleaned from the Czech publication, *Rudé právo/Právo*. The findings are presented in the same order as they are for the Russian data. Since the study was aimed at contrast rather than detailed comparison, only one publication was chosen. The evaluation and discussion of the two sets of data is offered in chapter 7.

6.0 Analysis of the Czech data

6.1 Overview

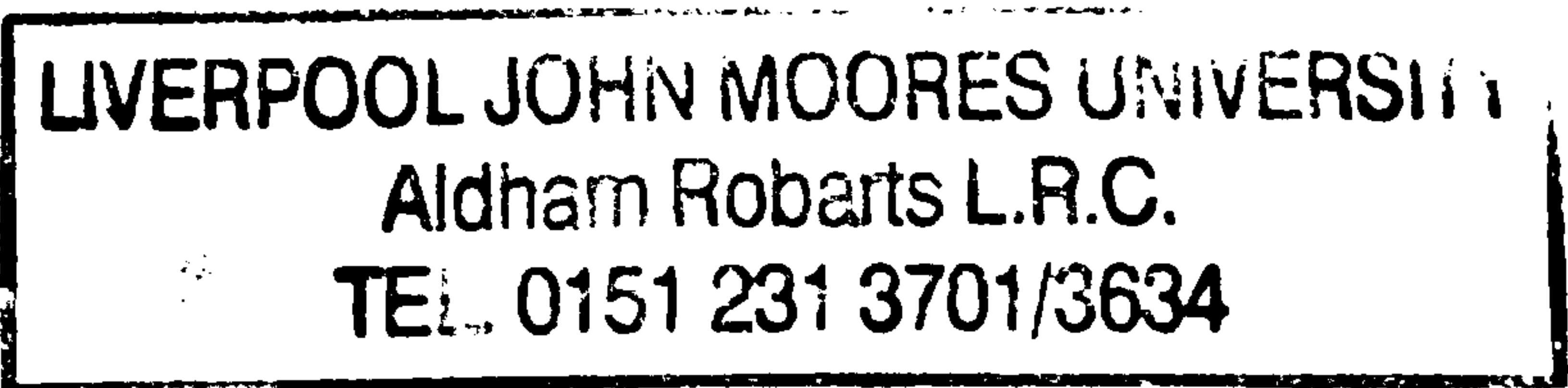
In accordance with the aims of the study – to analyse and evaluate the changes in Russian¹⁶⁰ and Czech headlines - this chapter provides the findings based on the statistical data gathered from the Czech corpus. First a description of the material in numerical terms is examined, section 6.2, then mutually exclusive strategies are considered, section 6.3. Section 6.4 on non-exclusive strategies is subdivided into three parts. Section 6.4.1 deals with language strategies, section 6.4.2 with content strategies and section 6.4.3 with typological strategies.

The different sections are ordered in the same way as for the Russian corpus. Statistical information on the selected linguistic structures is given: the syntactic strategies are studied in section 6.4.1.1, stylistic strategies and language resources in section 6.4.1.2. In the section on non-exclusive content strategies statistical and qualitative information on the sociolinguistic category of news/social actors is offered, again comparing the active and passive roles of the news actors in the headlines, their number, gender, occupation and nationality. The section on subject matter and changes therein provides data in section 6.4.2.2. This is followed by section 6.4.2.3 on intertextual headlines. Finally statistical information on typological strategies is given: the number of words in headlines (section 6.4.3.1) and the number of decks (section 6.4.3.2).

6.2 Description of the Czech corpus in numerical terms

Table 6.1 below offers statistics about the Czech headlines used in the study. Two columns are of special interest: the second column shows the number of headlines collected each year from the issues used in the study, and the third column gives the average number of headlines for each of the selected front pages of the sample. *Rudé právo* increased the number of headlines in 1989, rising from 426 in

¹⁶⁰ Russian findings were presented in chapter 5, evaluation of Russian and Czech findings is presented in chapter 7



1979 to 581 headlines but then as *Právo*, reduced them significantly in 1999, down to 367 headlines. The type for the headlines and for the articles was comparatively small in both the two earlier years. In 1999 the newspaper began to use slightly larger type in the body of the text, reduced the number of short articles and introduced more and bigger photographs.

Name of publication	No of heads collected	Heads per page of sample	No of issues used in the study	No of issues published that year	No of issues selected for study
rp79	426	9.7	44	308	every 7th
rp89	581	13.2	44	307	every 7th
rp99	367	8.5	43	304	every 7th
Total	1374				

Table 6. 1 Statistical description of the Czech headlines

6.3 Mutually exclusive strategies

To be able to compare and contrast the Czech and Russian headline strategies, the same categories have been identified in the Czech corpus and are systematically analysed for the three different periods. Table 6.2 shows a summary of the findings.

Mutually exclusive strategies	Year of publication					
	1979		1989		1999	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Topic clear	252	59.2%	334	57.5%	64	17.4%
Summary clear	76	17.8%	111	19.1%	289	78.7%
Topic obscure	29	6.8%	39	6.7%	1	0.3%
Erotetic	4	0.9%	41	7.1%	3	0.9%
All other strategies	65	15.3%	56	9.6%	10	2.7%

Table 6. 2: Mutually exclusive strategies x Year of publication (Czech corpus)

6.3.1 Topic-naming headlines

As can be seen from Table 6.2 the clear topic-naming headlines were the most popular strategy in both 1979 and 1989, dropping only slightly in 1989. By 1999

the decline of this type of headline was very steep, down to 17.4% of the headlines, that is, it dropped by almost two thirds of the 1979 figure. The obscure topic naming headlines experienced a similar decline, although they never enjoyed quite the same popularity as the clear ones. Their demise in 1999 was even more dramatic than that of the clear topic-naming headlines. While the figures in 1979 and 1989 were almost identical, just below 7% in 1999 they dropped down to 0.3%,

6.3.2 Summarizing headlines

The changes affecting the use of clear summarising headlines were exactly the opposite of changes in topic-naming headlines. There was a slight increase, from 17.8% to 19.1%, by 1989 and then a veritable explosion in 1999 to 78.7%, the figure surpassing by far even the usage of topic naming headlines in 1979. Nor did the obscure summarising headlines experience much of a decline, unlike the obscure topic-naming ones, hovering between 2.2% and 2.6%. They are shown to have been the least popular in 1989 and in 1999 recovered almost to their 1979 high of 2.5%.

6.3.3 Erotetic headlines

Three types of erotetic headlines were noted in the Czech corpus: questions beginning with an interrogative pronoun, questions based on intonation, and erotetic other, i.e. relative independently standing subordinate clauses without a question mark¹⁶¹.

The most frequent overall were the erotetic other headlines, which numbered 0.5% in 1979, rising to 5.0% in 1989 and dropping to 0.3% in 1999. Questions based on intonation reached 1.4% in 1989 but were below half a percent in the other two years. Questions with a pronoun were again very rare, with a high in 1989 but even then reaching only 0.7%. The year when questions were asked seemingly most often was 1989; see Table 6.2 above when a combined figure for

¹⁶¹ Also called *oznamovací otázky* ‘informing or reporting questions’ (Bartošek, 1997, :65)

erotic headlines of 7.1% was reached. The other two years did not quite reach one percent.

6.3.4 Exclamation headlines

The strategy of exclamatory headlines did not appear to be very popular in *Rudé právo/Právo* to begin with and it diminished as the years went by. It had its heyday in 1979 with 1.4% of the total headlines for the year, and declined quite steeply to 0.5% in 1989 and 0.3% in 1999.

Chraňme životy dětí (64rp79/4b)
,Let's protect the lives of children'

Alespoň jeden strom! (84rp89/2a)
,At least one tree!'

6.3.5 Wishing headlines

There were no wishing headlines in the Czech corpus, except in an oblique way, e.g.:

Blahopřání do Havany (1rp79/2a)
'Congratulations for/to Havana'

Blahopřejný telegram (8rp79/4a)
'Congratulatory telegramme'

6.3.6 Other/residual headlines

The headlines gathered under this strategy were often extremely truncated; barely anything was expressed in them. Very often they were giving some adverbial information only, a manner or a place was typical. They did not fit the summarising headlines as there was no summary, nor did they fit the topic-naming headlines because they did not offer a topic, for example see the headlines below.

Other adverbial:

Obilní kombajny se vracejí ze Slovenska
Operativně při sklizni (180rp79/1a)

‘Cereal combine harvesters are returning from Slovakia.
Flexibly during harvest’

Other:

K vyhlášení nezávislosti (166rp79/4b)
‘On the declaration of independence’

Nákup živočišných produktů do druhého pololetí
Zvýšenou péčí mléku (166rp79/1a)
‘Purchase of animal products for the second semester
Increased care for milk’

The *other adverbial* strategy was most popular in 1979, reaching 7.0%. It dropped to 1.7% in 1989 and there were none in the collected corpus for 1999. The *other* strategy was used more in 1989 than in 1979 (5.2% and 4.2% respectively) but again it was dropped altogether in 1999 (none were found in the 44 front pages collected for this study).

6.4 Non-exclusive strategies

The non-exclusive strategies are so called because two or more of them can coexist in the same headline. They are divided into three separate sections.

6.4.1 Language strategies: an overview

The language strategies are sub-divided further into three separate sections: syntactic strategies (section 6.4.1.1), stylistics strategies (section 6.4.1.2.) and the use of abbreviations.

6.4.1.1 Syntactic strategies

In this section four language strategies are analysed. The first one is sentence form, followed by completeness or incompleteness (elipses) of sentences, then complexity of sentences and finally a section dealing with selected verbal categories.

6.4.1.1.1 Sentence form

The use of the four different sentence forms – statement, question, imperative and exclamation - is examined here. The overwhelming majority of sentences in the Czech corpus is in the form of statements, 97.9%, which leaves just over 2% for the other three types.

Of these, questions are somewhat more popular than the other two forms with 1.1% of headlines being in that form. Imperatives and exclamations represent 0.5% each of the headline language.

Table 6.4 shows that the statement was the preferred form throughout the period. There was, however, a slight change in 1989, where the number of questions increased from half a percent to 1.9%¹⁶². The statement regained its ground and more in 1999 when it all but obliterated the other forms. Exclamatory sentences registered a steady decline from 1.2% in 1979 to 0.3% in 1989 to 0.0% in 1999. These findings tally reasonably well with the changes noted in the mutually exclusive strategies, where erotetic headlines increased slightly in 1989 and exclamations disappeared (Table A6.1 in the appendix).

Year of publication		Language form				Total
		statement	question	imperative	exclamation	
1979	Count	416	2	3	5	426
	%	97.7%	0.5%	0.7%	1.2%	100.0%
1989	Count	566	11	2	2	581
	%	97.4%	1.9%	0.3%	0.3%	100.0%
1999	Count	363	2	2	0	367
	%	98.9%	0.5%	0.5%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	1345	15	7	7	1374
	%	97.9%	1.1%	0.5%	0.5%	100.0%

Table 6.3: Year of publication x Language form (Czech corpus)

¹⁶² Percentages for erotetic headlines and for sentences in the form of questions are different, because headlines coded as *erotetic other* were treated as independently standing relative clauses and have not been coded as questions.

6.4.1.1.2 Sentence completeness

This aspect of the headline language was plotted in simple opposition: complete versus incomplete sentences. Table 6.4 illustrates this: almost four fifths of all the headlines in the corpus in 1979 and 1989 were incomplete sentences. However, as can be seen in the same table, the trend underwent a reversal. There was a substantial rise in the number of complete sentences between 1979 and 1989 and the 1999 corpus shows an even greater increase in the use of complete headlines.

Completeness of sentences		Year of publication			Total
		1979	1989	1999	
complete sentence	Count	70	130	301	501
	%	16.4%	22.4%	82.0%	36.5%
incomplete sentence	Count	356	451	66	873
	%	83.6%	77.6%	18.0%	63.5%
Total	Count	426	581	367	1374
	% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 4 Completeness of sentences x Year of publication (Czech corpus)

6.4.1.1.3 Complexity of sentences

In this section the trends found in the Czech corpus are examined regarding the complexity of sentences. Four types of sentences were singled out: simple, co-ordinate, sub-ordinate and block.

As can be seen in Figure 6.1, in 1979 the block type of sentence was the most popular, followed by simple sentences.

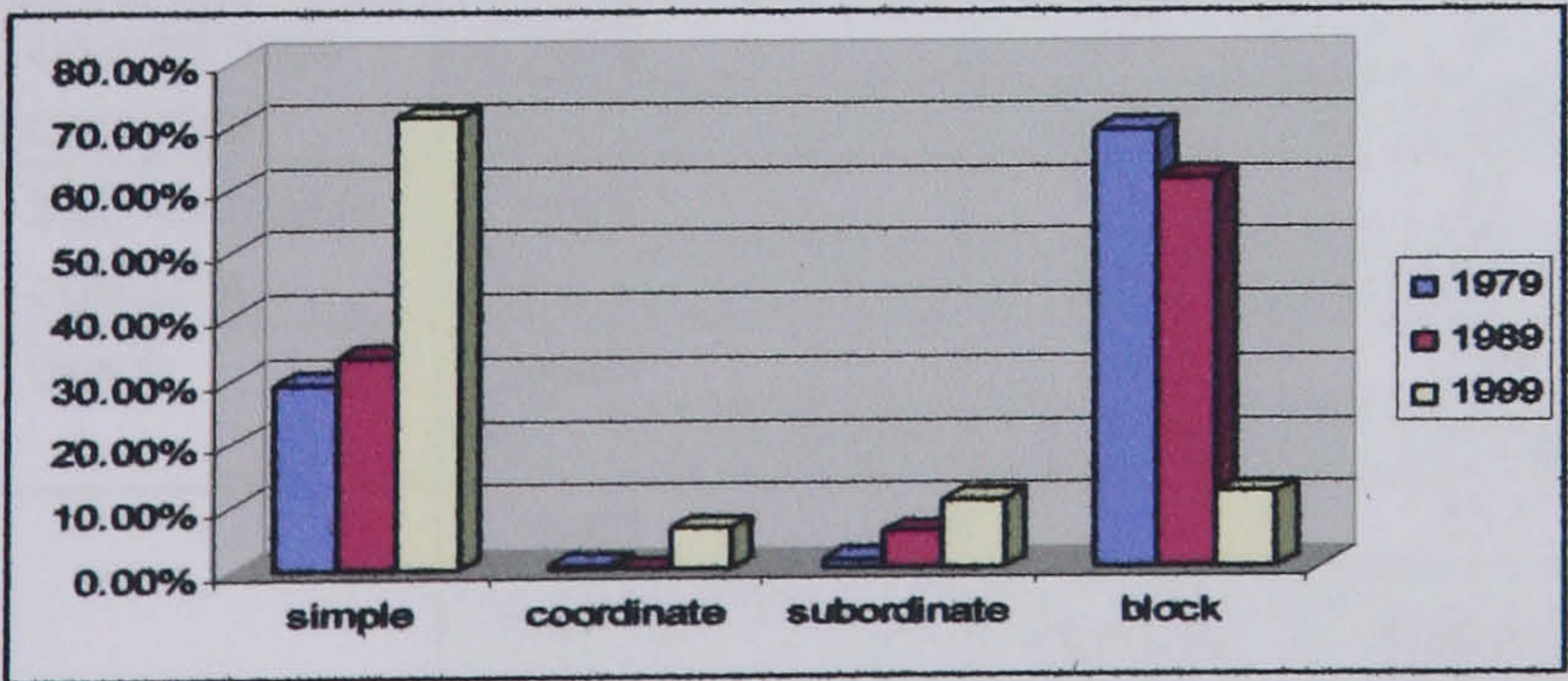


Figure 6.1: Complexity of sentences x years of publications (Czech corpus)

Subordinate sentences were used in 1.4% of headlines and coordinate sentences in only 0.5% of headlines (Table 6.6). The co-ordinate sentences did not seem to have achieved great popularity although they numbered 6.5% in 1999. The balance between the block and simple sentence did not change much in 1989, the block still being twice as popular as the simple sentence. This changed in 1999 when the simple sentence gained prominence, climbing steeply to 71% whereas the use of block sentences declined to 11.7%.

Complexity of sentences		Year of publication			Total I
		1979	1989	1999	
Simple	Count	125	193	261	579
	%	29.3%	33.2%	71.1%	42.1%
Co-ordinate	Count	2	0	24	26
	%	.5%	.0%	6.5%	1.9%
Subordinate	Count	6	33	39	78
	%	1.4%	5.7%	10.6%	5.7%
Block	Count	293	355	43	691
	%	68.8%	61.1%	11.7%	50.3%
Total	Count	426	581	367	1374
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 5: Complexity of sentences x years of publication (Czech corpus)

When incomplete sentences are analysed, it is clear that the majority of incomplete sentences is in block form, Table 6.6

Incomplete sentences			Year of publication			Total
	Complexity of sentences		1979	1989	1999	
	simple	Count	57	65	20	142
		%	16.0%	14.4%	30.3%	16.3%
	co-ordinate complex	Count	0	0	2	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.2%
	Sub-ordinate compex	Count	6	31	1	38
		%	1.7%	6.9%	1.5%	4.4%
	block	Count	293	355	43	691
		%	82.3%	78.7%	65.2%	79.2%
Total		Count	356	451	66	873
		% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 6: Incomplete sentences x Complexity of sentences x Year of publication (Czech corpus)

Complex sentences were almost entirely missing from the corpus in 1979, the total reaching 2.2%; the percentage grew to 5.4% in 1989 and 13.6% in 1999 (Table 6.7).

Complexity of sentences		Year of publication			Total
		1979	1989	1999	
simple	Count	333	567	1022	1922
	% within Year of publication	25.2%	34.3%	60.8%	41.3%
co-ordinate complex	Count	4	13	45	62
	% within Year of publication	0.3%	0.8%	2.7%	1.3%
sub-ordinate complex	Count	25	76	183	284
	% within Year of publication	1.9%	4.6%	10.9%	6.1%
block	Count	957	998	430	2385
	% within Year of publication	72.6%	60.3%	25.6%	51.3%
Total	Count	1319	1654	1680	4653
	% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 7: Complexity of sentences x Year of publication

6.4.1.1.4 Selected verbal categories

The selection of verbal categories was guided by the two corpora. The following table (Table 6.8) offers a summary of the findings. There are two categories which display large percentages: one is active lexical or full verbs, the other category uses no verbs. The lexical verbs were not used that often in 1979. Within the Czech corpus they are found in 17.6% of cases only. There was a small increase in 1989 to 22.7% but in 1999 the figure reaches 72.8%. Conversely, it is possible to see the decline of sentences without a verb, from 73.2% in 1979 to 65.7% - a comparatively small drop – in 1989 down to 14.4% in 1999.

Of the other verbal categories (Table 6.8) a small increase of sentences with the verb to be is noted, from 1.6% in 1979 to 4.4% 1999 and an overall decline in passive participles from 3.1% to 2.5% (there was a small increase in 1989 to 4.8%) and infinitives from 3.3% to 0.3%. The conditional, of which there were no examples found in 1979 appeared in a small number in 1989, 0.2%, and climbed to 3.5% in 1999.

	Year of publication						Total	
	1979		1989		1999			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
None	312	73.2%	382	65.7%	53	14.4%	747	54.4%
Lexical verb	75	17.6%	132	22.7%	267	72.8%	474	34.5%
Passive participle	13	3.1%	28	4.8%	9	2.5%	50	3.6%
Active (is/isn'tt)	7	1.6%	20	3.4%	16	4.4%	43	3.1%
Infinitive	14	3.3%	12	2.1%	1	0.3%	27	2.0%
'by' conditional	0	0	1	0.2%	13	3.5%	14	1.0%
Impersonal	2	0.5%	3	0.5%	5	1.4%	10	0.7%
Reflexive particle	2	0.5%	3	0.5%	2	0.5	7	0.5%
Other	1	0.2%	0	0%	1	0.3%	2	0.2%
Total	426	100.0%	581	100.0%	367	100.0%	1374	100%

Table 6. 8: Verbal categories x years of publication (Czech corpus)

6.4.1.2 Stylistic strategies

Stylistic strategies group together various means used to make headlines more colourful and more attractive to readers with the help of language. They can also make them clearer, more easily understood and show either overtly or covertly the author's opinion. Included here are: playing with words (section 6.4.1.2.1), use of rhetorical figures (section 6.4.1.2.2.), language formality (section 6.4.1.2.3.) and evaluation (section 6.4.1.2.4.)

6.4.1.2.1 Playing with words

Playing with language apparently was not at all popular in the editorial offices of Rudé právo/Právo, certainly not on the front page (Table 6.9). Less usual word order is the most frequent ploy and even that only reached 2.2% in 1989 and remained unchanged in 1999. Other stratagems (rhyming, assonance, polysemy etc.)) were either not exploited at all or were only exploited in a minimal way.

Language play		Year of publication			Total
		1979	1989	1999	
polysemy	Count	1	0	0	1
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.0%	.0%	.1%
repetition of the same word	Count	2	1	0	3
	% within Year of publication	.5%	.2%	.0%	.2%
word order unusual	Count	2	13	8	23
	% within Year of publication	.5%	2.2%	2.2%	1.7%
contrast	Count	1	1	1	3
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.2%	.3%	.2%
other	Count	1	0	0	1
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.0%	.0%	.1%
none	Count	419	565	358	1342
	% within Year of publication	98.4%	97.4%	97.5%	97.7%
Total	Count	426	580	367	1373
	% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 9: Language play x Year of publication (Czech corpus)

6.4.1.2.2 Rhetorical figures

The importance and relevance of rhetorical figures in the language of headlines has been noted in literature review. Table 6.10 shows that overall in the Czech corpus 7% of headlines used rhetorical figures of one sort or another. Broken down into individual years the data reveals that the lowest number of headlines displaying them occurred in 1989 with only 5.5%. The figure for 1979 was slightly higher, 6.3%, but the largest number of them appeared in 1999, 10.1%.

The most popular of the rhetorical figures within the Czech corpus were metaphor, the average figure being 4.3%, and metonymy, with an average of 0.9% over the three years. The popularity of metaphors seemed to hold on at about the same level in each of the years and in fact has grown slightly, from 3.1% in 1979 to 4.8% in 1989 and then to 4.9% in 1999. Thus our findings did not confirm the predominance of personification which was reported in Čechová et al.,(ibid.:182).

Metaphors can express evaluation, too. Table 6.11 illustrates what percentage of the metaphors in the Czech corpus was evaluative and what kind of evaluation they expressed.

Rhetorical figures of speech		Year of publication			Total
		1979	1989	1999	
metaphor	Count	13	28	18	59
	% within Year of publication	3.1%	4.8%	4.9%	4.3%
exaggeration (hyperbole)	Count	1	0	1	2
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.0%	.3%	.1%
synecdoche	Count	1	0	2	3
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.0%	.5%	.2%
metonymy	Count	7	2	4	13
	% within Year of publication	1.6%	.3%	1.1%	.9%
irony	Count	1	0	2	3
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.0%	.5%	.2%
personification	Count	1	2	2	5
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.3%	.5%	.4%
figurative use	Count	2	0	4	6
	% within Year of publication	.5%	.0%	1.1%	.4%
rhetorical question	Count	1	0	0	1
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.0%	.0%	.1%
other	Count	0	0	4	4
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	1.1%	.3%
none	Count	399	549	330	1278
	% within Year of publication	93.7%	94.5%	89.9%	93.0%
Total	Count	426	581	367	1374
	% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 10: Rhetorical figures of speech x Year of publication

Metaphor			Year of publication			Total
Evaluation in headline			1979	1989	1999	
non-evaluative	Count		9	13	11	33
	% within Year of publication		69.2 %	46.4 %	61.1 %	55.9%
evaluative - positive	Count		0	2	1	3
	% within Year of publication		.0%	7.1%	5.6%	5.1%
evaluative - negative	Count		2	4	0	6
	% within Year of publication		15.4 %	14.3 %	.0%	10.2%
other	Count		1	4	5	10
	% within Year of publication		7.7%	14.3 %	27.8 %	16.9%
imp neg ev	Count		0	3	0	3
	% within Year of publication		.0%	10.7 %	.0%	5.1%
imp pos ev	Count		1	2	1	4
	% within Year of publication		7.7%	7.1%	5.6%	6.8%
Total	Count		13	28	18	59
	% within Year of publication		100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0%

Table 6. 11: Evaluation in the Czech metaphors

Of the metaphors found in the corpus, 44.1% were evaluative. The negatively evaluative metaphors slightly outweighed the positively evaluative ones, with 16.9% where the evaluation depended on the readers' interpretation, for example:

Klaus dostal opět košem od lidovců a Unie svobody (294rp99/1b)
'Klaus was again turned down by the People party and the Union of Freedom'

Inherently the expression 'to be turned down' is negatively evaluative, but in this headline it can be interpreted as positive evaluation by all the readers who did not like Klaus.

Czech headlines also use metonymy. This figure can make the headline punchier and brief, e.g.:

Moskva popřela noční útok tanků na Groznyj (294rp99/2c)
'Moscow denied the night attack on Grozny'

In the headlines above, *Moscow* stands for the government of the Russian Federation. Unlike metaphors, metonymy lost some of its ground over the period, and especially in 1989, with a slight recovery in 1999.

Of the other figures exaggeration and synecdoche increased very slightly as did irony, and figurative use, while rhetorical question disappeared.

6.4.1.2.3 Language formality

Table 6.12 displays changes in language formality that was noted in the Czech headlines. Over 90% of every year's headlines were written in neutral language, although the percentage dropped by a small amount (2.3%) in 1999. Bookish or formal expressions declined from 6.6% in 1979 to 5.4% in 1999 and informal expressions were used more often. Although the figures are small, nevertheless the increase was noticeable, from 0.5% in 1989 to 3.5% in 1999. There were no such headlines found in 1979.

Language formality			Year of publication			Total
			1979	1989	1999	
	neutral	Count	397	542	334	1273
		%	93.2%	93.3%	91.0%	92.6%
	informal	Count	0	3	13	16
		%	.0%	.5%	3.5%	1.2%
	high, bookish	Count	28	36	20	84
		%	6.6%	6.2%	5.4%	6.1%
	other	Count	1	0	0	1
		%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.1%
Total		Count	426	581	367	1374
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 12: Language formality x Year of publication

6.4.1.2.4 Evaluation

The whole corpus was analysed for evaluation. Macháčková (1985:216) believes that evaluation is one of the functions of a newspaper headline and can be expressed either by different parts of speech or by means of different figures of speech. Table 6.13 shows the general tendencies noted in the Czech material.

6.4.1.2.4.1 Tendencies in evaluative headlines

Three tendencies were noted in the corpus. The first one was the change in the usage of evaluative headlines. The biggest number of evaluative headlines was found in 1979 when 33.8% of all headlines were evaluative. The figure declined considerably, by over 11% in 1989, and then grew by 1.2% in 1999.

The second tendency was the switch from positive to negative evaluation. In 1979 12.2% of all the headlines displayed positive evaluation, with the implied positive evaluation reaching 9.6%. Thus over 20%, one fifth, of the headlines were positively evaluative. The figures were about halved in 1989 and they diminished further in 1999, reaching a combined total of just under 4% of all headlines with positive evaluation.

Evaluation in headline			Year of publication			Total
			1979	1989	1999	
	non-evaluative	Count	282	450	280	1012
		% within Year of publication	66.2%	77.5%	76.3%	73.7%
	evaluative - positive	Count	52	30	11	93
		%	12.2%	5.2%	3.0%	6.8%
	evaluative - negative	Count	25	22	25	72
		%	5.9%	3.8%	6.8%	5.2%
	other	Count	13	24	43	80
		%	3.1%	4.1%	11.7%	5.8%
	imp neg ev	Count	13	21	5	39
		%	3.1%	3.6%	1.4%	2.8%
	imp pos ev	Count	41	34	3	78
		%	9.6%	5.9%	.8%	5.7%
Total		Count	426	581	367	1374
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 13: Evaluation in headline x Year of publication (% within the year of publication)

The changes in overt negative evaluation were not quite so dramatic but they nevertheless occurred. In 1979 just under 6% of all headlines were negatively evaluative. This figure dropped by almost 2% in 1989 but then doubled to 6.8% in 1999 thus overtaking the figure for 1979. The situation was different with implied negative evaluation. It increased from its 1979 level of 3.1% by a small percentage in 1989 to reach 3.6% and then dropped to 1.4% in 1999.

The third tendency was the increase of headlines which could be interpreted by the readers as either positively or negatively evaluative. The figures for the three years were 3.1% in 1979, 4.1% in 1989 and 11.7% in 1999. The ambiguity allowed readers to interpret the evaluation in these headlines in a way that would fit with their own views.

6.4.1.2.4.2 Evaluation referents

Figure 6.3 shows the breakdown of the referents of evaluation only, the whole pie chart represents 26.3% of the total Czech corpus. (The 73.7% of headlines which did not display any evaluation are not shown here.)

None of the evaluation referents reached 10% (Table A6.2 in the appendix). The largest group of evaluative headlines (9.5%) did not give any referents, and as could be anticipated, the remaining two larger groups referred to either the Czechoslovak (4.0%) or Czech (3.5%) state and events therein.

As far as 1979 headlines are concerned, positive evaluation referred to Soviet, socialist and Czechoslovak realia and events but none to Western ones, whereas negative evaluation was found in headlines referring to Western and Chinese matters, with none for Czechoslovak, Soviet or socialist ones.

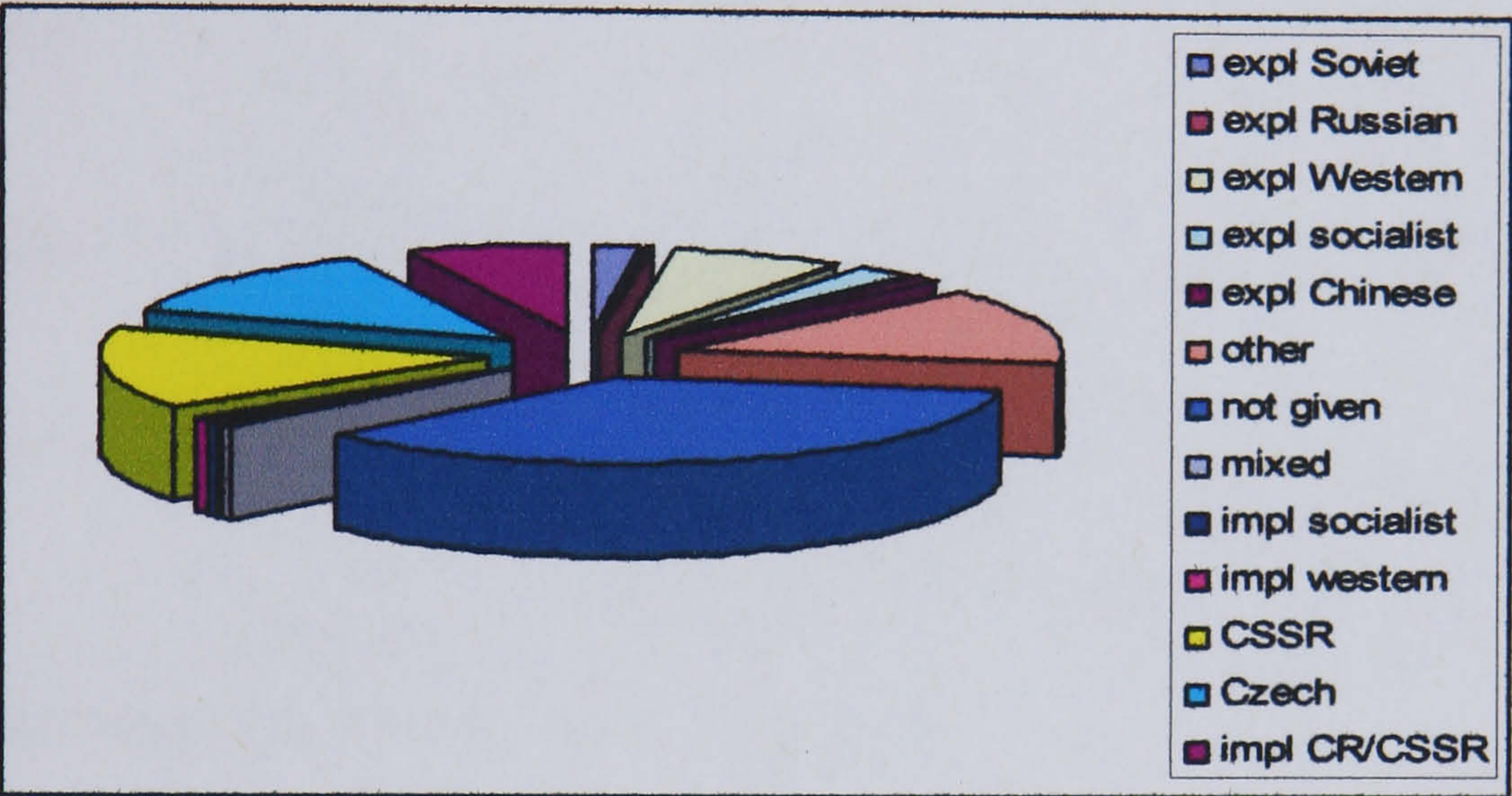


Figure 6 2: Evaluation referents

In 1989 positive evaluation was still found in headlines with Czechoslovak referents, and interestingly also with Western ones, though the figure was very small; the percentage for socialist countries dropped to less than half of the 1979 figure. There were no such references made to the Soviet Union or Soviet events or life. Negative evaluation was found in two headlines with Czechoslovak and two headlines with Western referents (9.1%, each). A relatively large number of implied negative evaluations appeared with Czechoslovak and Western referents. A large number of evaluative headlines were also in the implied positive category. Of the headlines with positive evaluation in 1999, 72.7% were found to apply to Czech referents and the remainder went to 'other' and 'not given'. Negative evaluation was distributed a little more evenly, Western referents 20%, 'other' and 'not given' 48%, Czech 28% and Russian 4%.

6.4.1.3 Abbreviations

The percentage of Czech headlines with abbreviations in the collected body of material was quite high, 25.3%. Their distribution over the three years can be seen in Table 6.14 below. The largest percentage occurred in 1989 when almost a third of headlines included an abbreviation. As regards the other two years there were slightly more abbreviations in 1979 than 1999, but the difference was minimal (0.6%).

Presence of abbreviations			Year of publication			Total
			1979	1989	1999	
	absent	Count	332	406	288	1026
		% within Year of publication	77.9%	69.9%	78.5%	74.7%
	present	Count	94	175	79	348
		% within Year of publication	22.1%	30.1%	21.5%	25.3%
Total		Count	426	581	367	1374
		% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 14: Presence of abbreviations x Year of publication

6.4.2 Content strategies: an overview

As with the Russian corpus, the Czech data is also analysed for the three content strategies: the news/social actor (6.4.2.1), the subject matter (6.4.2.2) and intertextuality (6.4.2.3). The ‘news/social actor’ category is subdivided further, covering aspects such as affectors and affecteds, their gender, profession and nationality as well as the evaluation of actors in headlines. In the section on subject matter the focus is on presence or absence of particular topics in different years. Finally, in section 6.4.2.3, findings on intertextuality are given.

6.4.2.1 News / social actors

Table 6.15 shows that overall a little under half of all headlines include a news actor, with just a little over a third being in the main headline. There is a marked increase in using this strategy year on year; in 1979 barely a quarter of all main

headlines mention any news actors and there is only a slight increase in 1989, whereas in 1999 over half of all main headlines contain a news actor of some sort.

The situation is different where other headlines (subheads and straplines) are concerned. There, the largest number of news actors occurs in 1979, drops considerably in 1989 and recovers to some extent in 1999. This movement complements the situation in the main headlines; it also shows the importance of providing news actors. In 1979 the importance must not have been thought essential, yet the editors felt the need to provide news actors, so they placed them in the subheads or in the straplines. In 1989 a small shift occurred, with more news actors in the main headline than in the subhead/strapline (the overall figures for all headlines with news actors – main heads, other heads and both are just short of 40%, 39.9% for 1979 and 38.6% for 1989).

In the 1999 *Právo* there is not only a considerable increase in the number of main headlines carrying news/social actors, but they are also included in the subhead/straplines. The usefulness of this strategy is apparently such that in over 7% of cases news/social actors are included in both the main headline and subhead/strapline.

Year of publication			Actor placement				Total
			main head	other head	both	none	
	1979	Count	103	61	6	256	426
		% within Year of publication	24.2%	14.3%	1.4%	60.1%	100.0%
	1989	Count	159	48	17	357	581
		% within Year of publication	27.4%	8.3%	2.9%	61.4%	100.0%
	1999	Count	206	43	26	92	367
		% within Year of publication	56.1%	11.7%	7.1%	25.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	468	152	49	705	1374
		% within Year of publication	34.1%	11.1%	3.6%	51.3%	100.0%

Table 6. 15: Actor placement in Czech headlines in individual years

6.4.2.1.1 Affectors and affecteds

Table 6.16 shows the overall frequencies of affectors and affecteds in the Czech data. In all categories affectors score higher than the affecteds and in most cases the difference is considerable, the greatest difference being in the named individual category, where it reaches over 8%.

Affectors	Frequency	Percent	Affecteds	Frequency	Percent
named individual	189	13.8	named individual	73	5.3
generic/unnamed	157	11.4	generic/unnamed	125	9.1
organisation(s)	90	6.6	organisation(s)	21	1.5
nation(s)/peoples	10	0.7	nation(s)/peoples	7	0.5
country/state	38	2.8	country/state	22	1.6
other	40	2.9	other	35	2.5
none	850	61.9	none	1091	79.4
Total	1374	100.0	Total	1374	100.0

Table 6. 16: News/social actors – affectors and affecteds

There are considerable changes in the data for the different years. In the affectors’ category there are only 4.2% of headlines naming individuals in 1979. This figure is over doubled in 1989 (9.0%) and in 1999 it reaches 32.4%, that is almost a third of all headlines. Similar increases are noted in organisations where the figures for the respective years are 2.6%, 5.3% and 13.1% (Table A6.3 in the appendix).

Corresponding changes are noted in the affecteds’ category. There is a marginal increase of 0.1% in the headlines with named individuals from 1979 to 1989 but the figure is more than doubled in 1999, reaching 8.7%. Headlines with generic/unnamed individuals were more frequent in 1979, reaching 8.9%. There was a reduction in 1989 to just under 6% but the strategy rallied in 1999 climbing to 14.4%. Organisations were found only in the 1989 and 1999 corpora and there was an increase there also, from 0.7% to 4.6% respectively.

6.4.2.1.2 Gender of news actors

Another aspect of news actors that was analyzed was the category of gender. Gender (affectors and affecteds together) was charted for a variety of categories, see Table 6.17. The most notable were categories covering adult females and adult males and unclear adults. 22% of all the headlines feature males only. If to these the headlines featuring both female and male adults as well as headlines featuring unclear adults are added – the latter nouns are grammatically also masculine – we obtain a figure of 33.4% , that is a third of all the headlines.

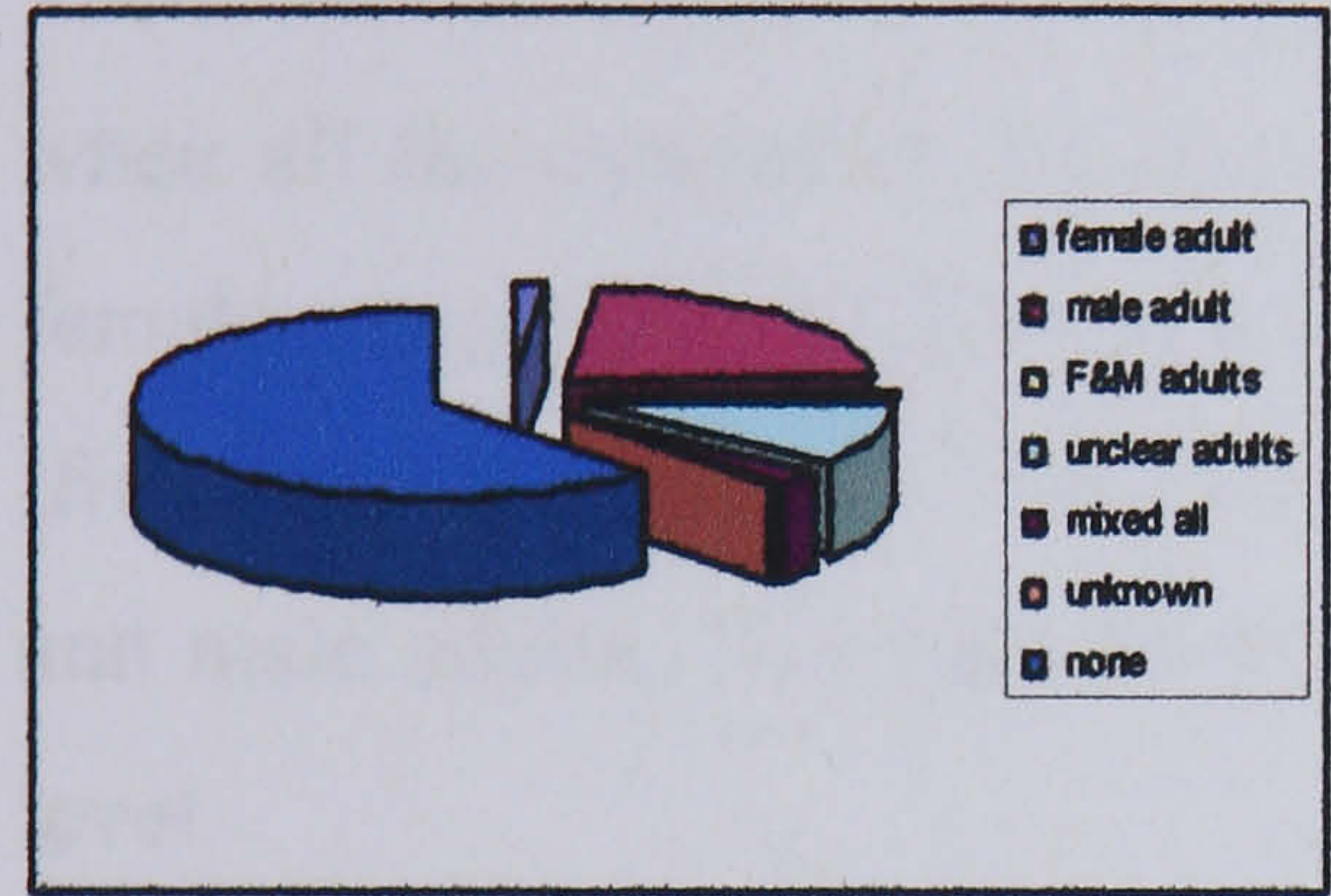


Figure 6.3: Gender categories (the whole Czech corpus)

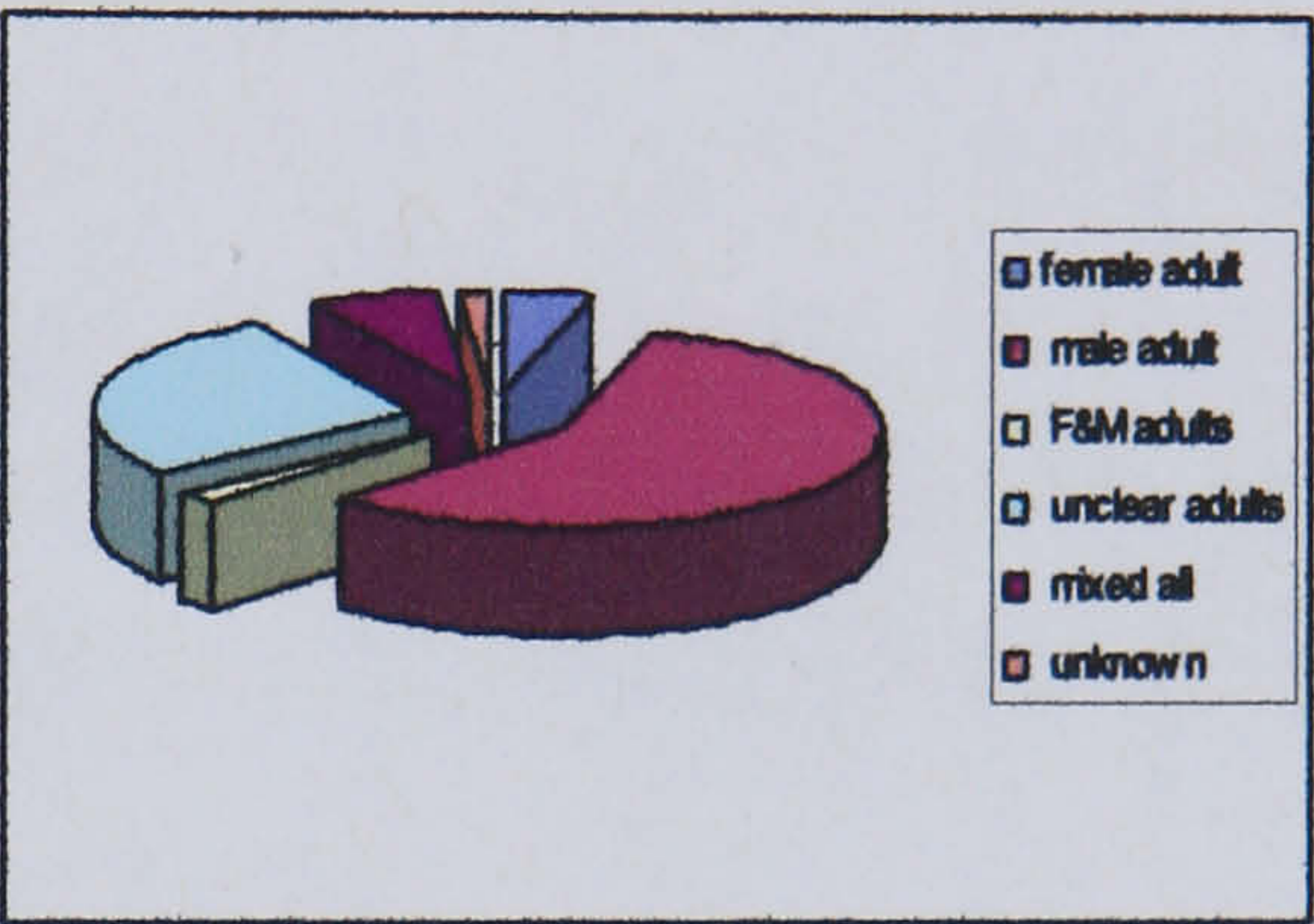


Figure 6.4 Gender categories (headlines with actors only)

The two figures above show the proportions assigned to different gender categories. Figure 6.4 offers an overview of the whole Czech corpus. As can be seen the headlines with actors encompass just over a third of the total number of headlines. Figure 6.5 charts only the headlines with actors in them, (that is just under 40% of all Czech headlines). The visual depiction shows very clearly how many headlines contain male news actors.

Gender	Frequency	Percent
female adult	23	1.7
male adult	304	22.1
F&M adults	11	0.8
unclear adults	144	10.5
mixed all	35	2.5
unknown	8	0.6
none	843	61.4
Total	1368 ¹⁶³	99.6

Table 6. 17: Gender of news actors, Czech corpus

¹⁶³ The number of headlines with children as news actors is less than 0.5%, the details are in the appendix, Table A6.6

When the situation in different years is examined (looking at headlines with news actors), the findings are as follows. Although in each of the years males predominate, there is a considerable increase of female news actors in 1999 as opposed to the earlier period, climbing from 0.5% in 1979 to 5.2% in 1999, that is a tenfold increase. The number of headlines with male news actors has also increased in this period but only twofold and unclear adults have gone up in the same time by 2.2% only.

There was an unexpected dip in the use of headlines with news actors in 1989 when all the categories experienced a drop; a very slight one in both male and female news actors (0.2% each), but quite a considerable one in the unclear adults (from 12.0% to 7.1%). There is one exception, headlines featuring both female and male adults. This type peaked in 1989 and in 1999 dropped below the 1979 level.

The following findings offer information about the gender of affectors (named and generic). In 1979 in all the headlines including named news actors-affectors 83.3% were males and 16.7% were unclear adults. There were no female affectors at all. In 1989 headlines with unclear adults diminished considerably (down to 1.9%), the male affectors increased to 94.2% and a small number of named female affectors appeared (3.8%). In 1999 the number of headlines with female affectors increased to 7.6%, of male affectors only dropped to 84.0% and the unclear adult affectors rose somewhat to 2.5%.

In the category of generic/unnamed affectors headlines with unclear adults scored the highest percentages: 55.9%, 48.9% and 61.4% for the years 1979, 1989 and 1999 respectively. Generic female affectors were only found in the 1999 data (10.5%). Male affectors were in about a third of all headlines (32.2% and 34.1% in the earlier two years), dropping to 21.1% in 1999. The trend is thus in favour of named individuals and away from generic ones, with males being the preferred affectors.

There were no headlines with named female affecteds in 1979 or 1989, and in 1999 there was only one such headline (out of 32 headlines with affecteds, thus accounting for 3.1%). Headlines with named male affecteds occurred in every one of the years studied, accounting for 26.2%, 37.7% and 36.1% respectively. In the generic affecteds category males also appeared more frequently than females.

6.4.2.1.3 Professions/occupations of news actors

In 1979 the most frequent occupation was politics, domestic and foreign (5.4%, 17.1% respectively). Except for farmers (1.2%) and economists¹⁶⁴ (1.4%), the other occupations were represented in just one or two headlines (generally below 0.5%). Certain occupational labels, e.g. tourists, criminals and lawyers were absent. In 1989 there was a small increase of news actors involved in domestic and foreign politics (8.8% and 17.2%). Farming and education disappeared from the sample altogether and the military went up from 0.5% to 2.2%.

The situation was different in 1999. Domestic politicians took over from the foreign ones (21.3% and 14.7% respectively), criminals and terrorists were found in 3.0% of headlines and the legal profession appeared for the first time (1.4%) on the front pages (of the sample). Economists and related occupations were also found more frequently (3.8%). Military personnel were in 6.0% of the headlines and sportspersons, not in 1979 at all and in only 0.5% of headlines in 1989 rose to 2.2% in 1999 (Table A6.4 in the appendix).

As has been demonstrated already (see Table 6.18 below¹⁶⁵), there are few headlines with female news actors. The two found in 1979 do not give their occupations. In 1989, of the two headlines, one does not give the occupation, the other provides the label *nurse*. In 1999 a third of the headlines with female actors does not give their occupation, there are three headlines each in domestic and foreign politics and the remainder (a limited selection when compared to the whole list) are just one each. The front pages of *Právo* depicted a man's world in the three years studied.

¹⁶⁴ This label included various professions broadly related to industry, economy and finance.

¹⁶⁵ Only the section *Female adult* is shown here, the whole table is in the appendix (Table A6.4)

Female adult		Year of publication			Total
Job of news actors		1979	1989	1999	
not given/unknown	Count	2	1	6	9
	% within Year of publication	100.0%	50.0%	31.6%	39.1%
politics /govt domestic	Count	0	0	3	3
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	15.8%	13.0%
workers	Count	0	0	1	1
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	5.3%	4.3%
artist/performin/visual	Count	0	0	1	1
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	5.3%	4.3%
religious	Count	0	0	1	1
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	5.3%	4.3%
military, police, secret police	Count	0	0	1	1
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	5.3%	4.3%
other	Count	0	1	3	4
	% within Year of publication	.0%	50.0%	15.8%	17.4%
politics foreign	Count	0	0	3	3
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	15.8%	13.0%
Total	Count	2	2	19	23
	% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. 18: Job of news actors x Year of publication x Gender of news actors

6.4.2.1.4 Nationality of news actors

There is a wide variety of different nationalities in the Czech data. Of the 48.8% of headlines that display news/social actors 14.4% are explicitly Czech or Czechoslovak, 3.0% give an additional actor of a different nationality and 5.4% are assumed Czech/Czechoslovak (Table A6.5 in the appendix). Predictably, Czech was not found in either the 1979 or the 1989 corpus of headlines, whereas Czechoslovak was not found in the 1999 corpus.

The headlines that named Russian and Soviet actors are distributed in a similar pattern; Russian occurs once in 1979 and not at all in 1989, while there are several occurrences in 1999 (1.6%). Soviet hovers around 2% (2.1% and 2.2%) in the first two years and disappears in 1999. The *assumed CSSR/CR* figures rise quite steeply from 1.6% in 1979, to 2.9% in 1989 to 13.6% in 1999.

6.4.2.1.5 News actors in the genitive case

A sub-section 'other' was included within each of the two categories of affectors and affecteds. The sub-section grouped together nominal phrases where news

actors were placed in the genitive case. The number of such headlines is quite small in the Czech corpus, 2.9% for affectors and 2.5% for affecteds. The examples below illustrate the two types of headline:

Novoroční projev generálního tajemníka ÚV KSČ a prezidenta ČSSR
G.Husáka

S důvěrou a optimismem do nového roku (1rp79/1a)

‘New year speech of the general secretary of the CC CPC¹⁶⁶ and the president of the CSSR G.Husák

With trust and optimism into the new year’

The speech is given by the president, who is thus the affector.

Přijetí velvyslanců (8rp79/4b)

‘Ambassadors received/ given an audience’

The ambassadors are in the genitive case and are the affecteds here.

6.4.2.1.6 Evaluation of headlines with news actors

The figures in Table 6.19 show that women are evaluated more frequently than men in the headlines where gender is clearly expressed, 26.1% (females) as opposed to 21.7% (males). However, the most frequent evaluation is bestowed on unclear adults, 32.6%. Proportionately, headlines with positive evaluation of female actors are about twice (2.02 times) more frequent than those with negative evaluation, whereas for males the figure is somewhat greater, just over two and a half (2.65 times) times. In the case of unclear adults the difference is minimal, positive evaluation exceeds the negative one just 1.2 times. In cases where evaluation is only implied, the positive one exceeds the negative one for women, while the negative one is more frequent for men.

When these headlines are looked at in the individual years, it can be seen that in 1979 and 1989 both male and female actors were evaluated positively, if there was any evaluation at all. It is only in 1999 where the overall tendency is either ambiguous evaluation, or it is negative (details are in Table A6.6 in the appendix).

¹⁶⁶ Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Gender of news actors	Evaluation in headlines							Total
		evaluative -positive	imp pos ev	evaluative -negative	imp neg ev	other	non-evaluative	
female adult	Count	2	1	1	0	2	17	23
	%	8.7%	4.3%	4.3%	.0%	8.7%	73.9%	100.0%
male adult	Count	21	14	8	3	20	238	304
	%	6.9%	4.6%	2.6%	1.0%	6.6%	78.3%	100.0%
unclear adults	Count	15	3	12	5	12	97	144
	%	10.4%	2.1%	8.3%	3.5%	8.3%	67.4%	100.0%

Table 6. 19: Gender of news actors x Evaluation in headline (percentage within gender of news actors)

6.4.2.2 Subject matter

When the subject matter is examined, several areas show comparatively high levels of presence in the front pages. The lion's share of headlines (averaged over the whole Czech corpus of collected data) is devoted to foreign and domestic politics (30.1% and 12.7% respectively), economy and finance take up 6.8%, political rhetoric 4.7%, agriculture 3.7%, military 2.6% and industry 1.7% of the front page headlines. Other topics are present in much smaller numbers (Table A6.7 the appendix).

There are four distinct trends. A number of topics were very popular in 1979 but disappeared by 1999. This affects agriculture, industry and political rhetoric headlines in particular:

Subject matter		1979	1989	1999
political rhetoric	% within Year of publication	8.5%	4.8%	.0%
agriculture	% within Year of publication	9.6%	1.7%	.0%
industry	% within Year of publication	3.8%	1.2%	.0%

Extract a: Subject matter x year of publication

The second type includes headlines which dramatically decrease in number over the same period, such as foreign politics and space exploration.

Subject matter		1979	1989	1999
politics international	% within Year of publication	40.6%	33.0%	13.1%
space, universe	% within Year of publication	1.6%	0.7%	0.3%

Extract b: Subject matter x year of publication

The third type includes headlines which were found in the 1979 corpus, but which became of great interest in 1989. However, this interest diminished considerably

by 1999, and in the case of the arts such headlines disappeared from the front pages altogether.

Subject matter		1979	1989	1999
history	% within Year of publication	1.9%	2.1%	1.1%
the arts	% within Year of publication	1.6%	2.8%	0.0%
military	% within Year of publication	1.4%	3.8%	2.2%
education	% within Year of publication	0.9%	1.4%	0.5%
environment	% within Year of publication	0.0%	3.8%	0.3%

Extract c:: Subject matter x year of publication

Finally the fourth type were headlines with subjects which either did not appear at all in 1979 (or in some cases even in 1989) but which became more popular by 1999:.

Subject matter		1979	1989	1999
politics domestic	% within Year of publication	6.6%	13.9%	18.0%
economy, finance	% within Year of publication	5.4%	5.7%	10.4%
war in the Balkans	% within Year of publication	0.0%	0.0%	6.3%
crime, prison, police	% within Year of publication	0.0%	0.5%	5.2%
bizzare stories	% within Year of publication	0.0%	0.2%	5.2%
sport	% within Year of publication	0.0%	1.5%	4.6%
human angle	% within Year of publication	0.7%	1.0%	4.6%
health	% within Year of publication	0.0%	0.7%	4.6%
disasters	% within Year of publication	0.7%	1.2%	2.5%
law, judiciary	% within Year of publication	0.2%	0.2%	2.2%
media, censorship	% within Year of publication	0.5%	1.2%	1.4%

Extract d: Subject matter x year of publication

6.4.2.3 Intertextuality

Intertextuality did not seem to be a particularly prominent strategy in the Czech headlines. As can be seen from Table 6.20 there were very few headlines displaying it. The most frequent were quotations. The editors of *Právo*, especially in 1999 (see Table A6.8 in the appendix), used it to highlight a personal view of a well-known individual which they extracted from an interview printed on the front page (and which often continued on an inside page). This view was presumably deemed either the most attention-attracting or relevant. The other two fields which were employed in 1999 fairly frequently were sayings and references to literature.

Intertextuality	Frequency	Percent
sayings/idioms	4	0.3
literature	4	0.3
other	11	0.8
slogan	1	0.1
fairy tales	1	0.1
films	1	0.1
quotation	50	3.6
none	1302	94.8
Total	1374	100.0

Table 6. 20: Intertextuality sources (aggregate figures)

The following table (extract from Table A6.8 in the appendix) shows the most frequent sources of intertextuality over the three years studied.

Sources of intertextuality	Year of publication		
	1979	1989	1999
Sayings	0	2	2
	0.0%	0.3%	0.5%
Literature	0	0	4
	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%
Quotations	2	7	41
	0.5%	1.2%	11.2%

Figure 6 5: Most frequent sources of intertextuality x year of publication

6.4.3 Typological strategies

Two typological strategies were included in the study of Czech headlines as they were for the Russian corpus – one was the number of words per headline and the other the number of decks per headline.

6.4.3.1 Number of words in headlines

Figure 6.6 below shows the frequency of words in the main headlines across the whole corpus. The majority (over 60%) of all main headlines consist of three, four

or five words. The headlines made of two, six, seven and eight words account for a bare third and the remainder for around 10%.

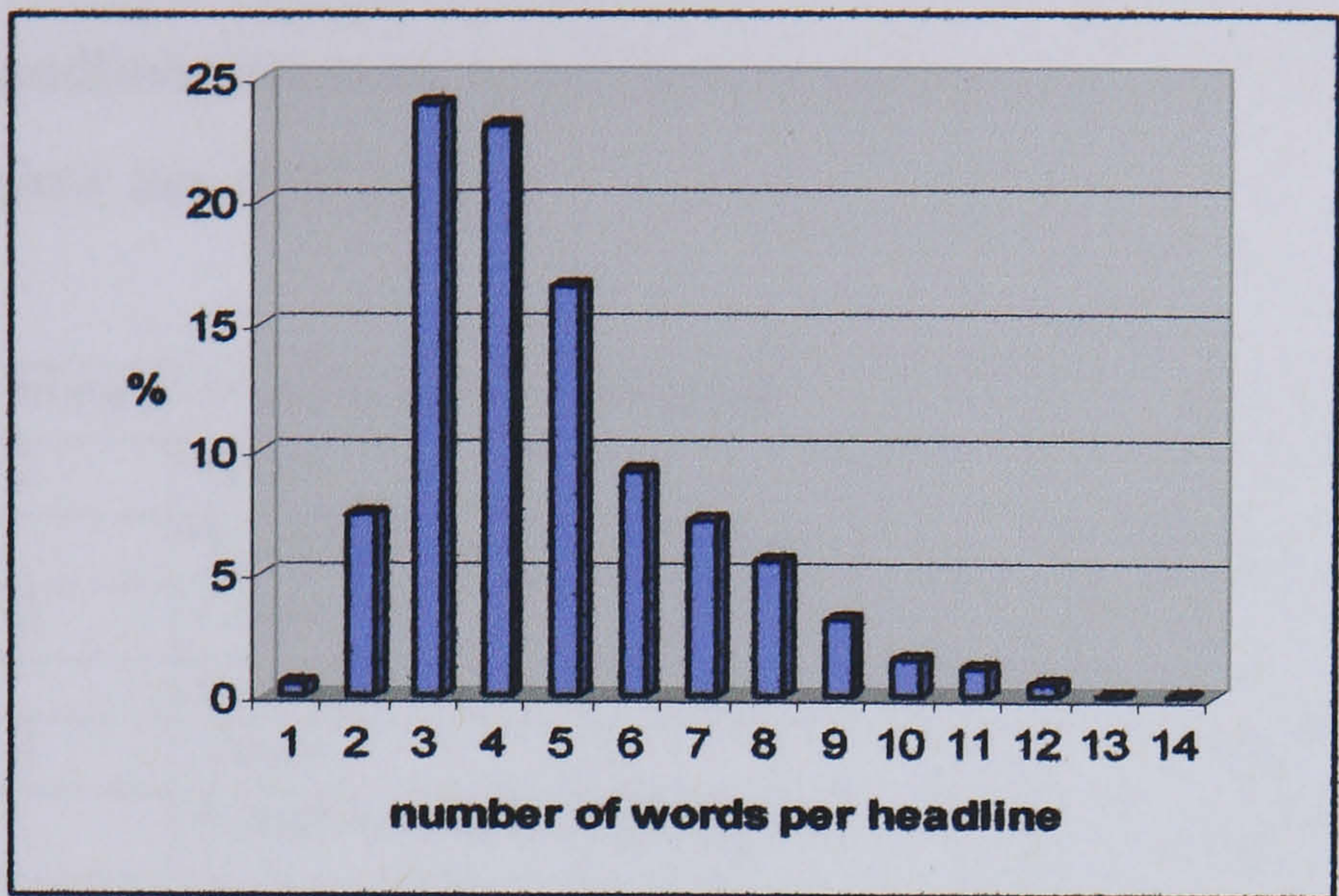


Figure 6 6: Number of words per main headline (%)

Figure 6.7 shows that subheads and straplines tended to be wordier than the main headlines and most frequently contained five, six or seven words. Four, eight and nine worded headlines were less frequent, and the rest were found in very small numbers indeed.

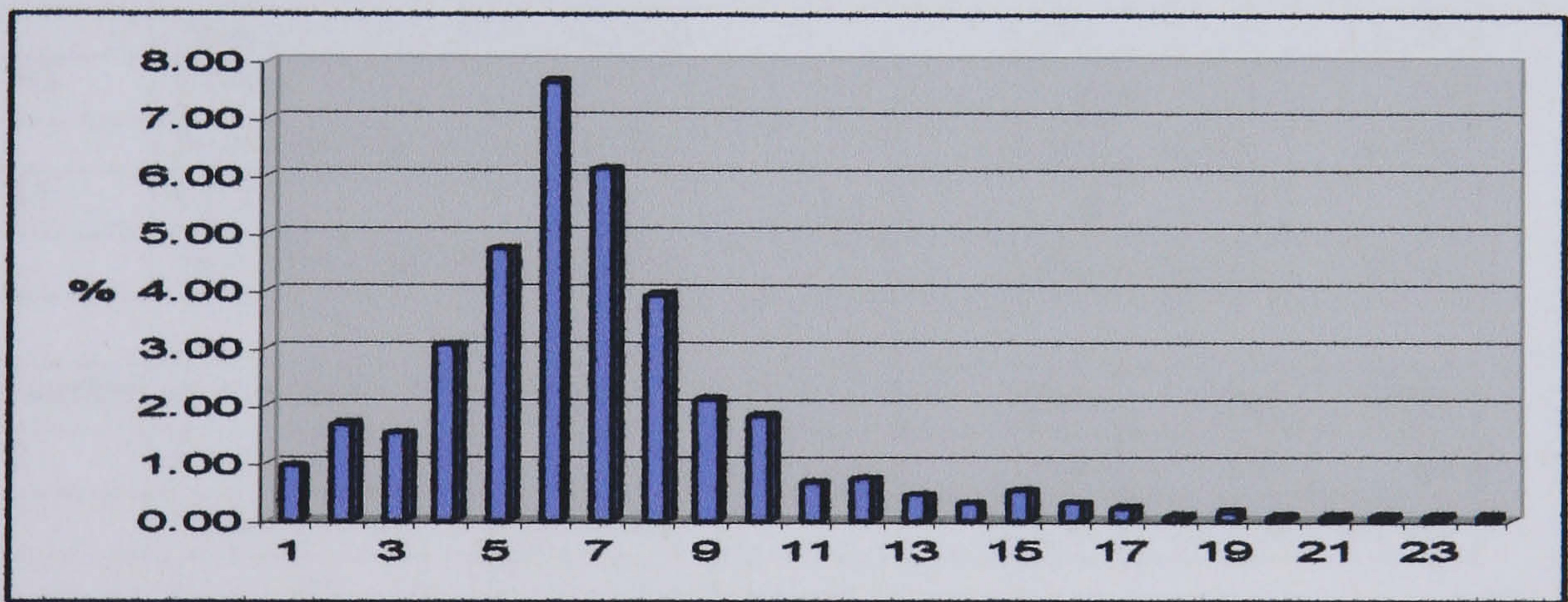


Figure 6 7: Number of words in subheads and straplines (%)

Table 6.21 below is split into three sections. Between them the sections illustrate the changes from year to year. The changes tally with the changes in strategies, specifically topic-naming headlines and summary headlines. The shorter headlines with few words drop from around 77% to near 19%. This corresponds with a drop from 66% to around 18% in topic-naming headlines¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶⁷ See Table 6.2

The second section of the table illustrates the trend of providing wordier headlines. This again corresponds with the changing use of strategies (this chapter, above). The third section provides data about headlines with five words. These headlines seem to have risen in popularity in 1989 but then they dropped down below the 1979 level.

Number of words per main headline		1979	1980	1999
2	Count	50	26	26
	% within Year of publication	11.7%	4.5%	7.1%
3	Count	141	166	23
	% within Year of publication	33.1%	28.6%	6.3%
4	Count	140	156	21
	% within Year of publication	32.9%	26.9%	5.7%

Number of words per main headline		1979	1980	1999
6	Count	22	57	47
	% within Year of publication	5.2%	9.8%	12.8%
7	Count	5	32	60
	% within Year of publication	1.2%	5.5%	16.3%
8	Count	1	11	63
	% within Year of publication	0.2%	1.9%	17.2%
9	Count	4	0	40
	% within Year of publication	0.9%	0.0%	10.9%
10	Count	2	0	18
	% within Year of publication	0.5%	0.0%	4.9%
11	Count	0	0	17
	% within Year of publication	0.0%	0.0%	4.6%

Number of words per main headline		1979	1980	1999
5	Count	59	131	38
	% within Year of publication	13.8%	22.5%	10.4%

Table 6. 21: Number of words (main heads) x years

6.4.3.2 Decks

The final strategy examined in the study is the number of decks in each headline. As Figure 6.8 illustrates, the largest number of headlines consisted of only the main headline (63%). The second favourite over the three years studied was a main headline with both a subhead and a strapline or with a strapline only (24%). The least frequent was a main headline with only a subhead (13%). When the distribution of the headlines (one and more decks) is analysed, it is clear that the

main headline only approach is gaining ground with time, rising from 51.4% in 1979 to 71.7% in 1999. There is also an increase in headlines with subheads only, from 8.2% to 16.6% over the same period. Only the headlines where there are straplines or both a strapline and a subhead declined, quite substantially, from 40.4% to 11.7% (for details see Table A6.9 in the appendix).

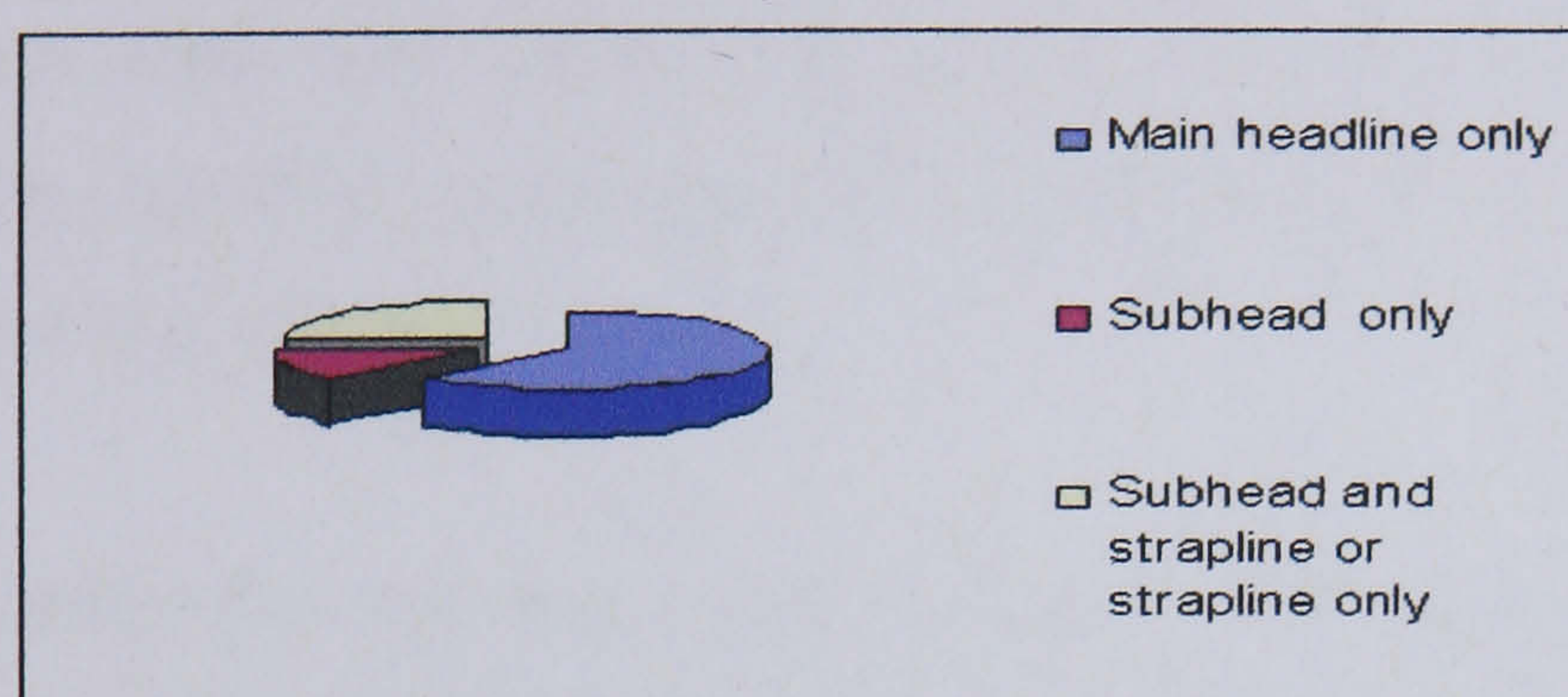


Figure 6 8: Number of decks per headline

6.5 Summary

The Czech corpora collected for this study was analysed in this chapter. Quantitative results were offered in order to illustrate the changes in the strategies used in the headlines in *Rudé právo* and *Právo*. The publication and period chosen for the study were selected to correspond with the Russian material in order to facilitate comparison.

The Czech findings were placed in the same sequence as the Russian ones. It was demonstrated that the mutually exclusive strategies underwent considerable changes. In the section dealing with non-exclusive language strategies, changes were traced in sentence form, completeness and complexity and plotted in graphs and figures to aid analysis. A variety of stylistic features was examined and illustrated in the ensuing section, followed by language formality, evaluation and the use of abbreviations.

The concept of news actors was dealt with in the section on content strategies. Statistical data on affectors and affecteds was collated and analysed, paying special attention to gender, occupation and nationality. Evaluation of news actors also yielded revealing results. Although introducing news actors in headlines has

become a popular stratagem, when it comes to gender distribution the findings show that few women are mentioned on the front pages.

The two other areas examined in the section on content strategies were intertextuality and subject matter. There, the appearance and disappearance of certain subject areas was noted, and sources for intertextual headlines were sought. Finally, typological strategies were investigated and their relationship to other strategies was offered.

In the next chapter the more significant Russian and Czech findings are discussed and the similarities and differences between the two sets of data are analysed and evaluated.

7.0 Discussion of key findings

7.1 Overview

The key findings presented in the preceding parts are discussed, compared and contrasted in this chapter. The aim of the study is the analysis and evaluation of Russian and Czech headlines over a period of time. The findings presented in chapter 5 (Russian data) and chapter 6 (Czech data) are discussed, both independently of one another and in contrast to each other so that potential trends across the two languages, or indeed their absence, can be commented upon¹⁶⁸. The number of headlines collected for the study is examined in section 7.2. The discussion of headline framework, the mutually exclusive strategies, can be found in section 7.3. Non-exclusive language strategies are in section 7.4, while none-exclusive content strategies are located in section 7.5 and typographical strategies in section 7.6.

7.2 The corpora in numerical terms

The general appearance of the front pages in the four selected publications changed considerably over the years. However, only one feature was included in this study – the number of front page headlines.

The number of headlines on the front pages varied considerably between the different publications. (Table 7.1 in the Appendix). *AiF* and *Izvestiia* broadly followed the same pattern publishing the biggest number of headlines in 1979. This was followed by a drop in 1989 and then a partial recovery in 1999. *Ogonek* and *Rudé právo/Právo* worked to a somewhat different pattern, offering their readers the biggest number of headlines in 1989 and then reducing it in 1999.

Two main reasons seem to have underpinned the changes: the aims and the needs of the publications in the different years.

¹⁶⁸ The comparison/contrast will concentrate primarily, but not exclusively on the daily newspapers. *Izvestiia* and *Rudé právo/Právo*

The main aim for all the publications in 1979 was the provision of information. *AiF* served to provide information to Party activists. Its front page served almost as a table of content. *Ogonek* at that stage was known specifically as a literary and artistic magazine (Lowell, op.cit.) informing readers of predominantly Soviet achievements in these fields and relying on its reputation and the visual images on its front page. *Izvestiia*, as a government newspaper, also provided information, usually in the form of one or two extensive articles and a host of short ones with varied material from different parts of the Soviet Union and occasionally also from abroad. *Rudé právo* was the government and the Czechoslovak communist party daily and provided information similar to *Izvestiia*. The informative function encompassed also educational and enlightening elements (e.g. Osvaldová, 2001:10), or as other authors saw it education in the political consciousness of the masses or as propaganda (e.g. Gulyás, 2003; Fidelius, 1983).

The needs of the publications in 1979 were essentially the needs of the state, the dissemination of information the state and the Party wished to pass onto its citizens. Because all the publications were supported by the state, the financial considerations were of little or no importance. However, it was acknowledged that attracting readers mattered (e.g. Lazareva, 1989); or, in Macháčková's words (1985:215) "The first and at the same time the most important function [of the headlines]... is to attract the reader."

The aim of all the publications in 1989 was still primarily to provide their readers with information. *AiF*¹⁶⁹ and *Ogonek* gained a large following, because of the topical articles they published, often on previously taboo subjects. *Izvestiia* reduced the number of the small items in favour of fewer bigger ones. Only *Rudé právo* published more items on its front pages. This was the result of including several trailers for articles inside the newspaper. All the publications were still in receipt of state subsidies to augment the income from sales and so the commercial needs were not urgent. The popularity was achieved by more balanced opinions and material that was of real interest to the readers.

¹⁶⁹ *AiF* was published on a weekly basis by then

In 1999 the needs of the publications changed and motivated their aims. This was the result of an altered political and economic situation in the two countries. There was no state support and the publications had to compete for readers as their survival depended on the revenue from sales and advertising. Private ownership of newspapers meant that information began to be treated as saleable goods and had to make profit for the owners. As Osvaldová (2004:12) remarked, “nowadays information ... is a marketable commodity”.

Thus the aim was to create a publication that many readers would buy; therefore the front page had to be attractive. That brought about a greater emphasis on the visual aspect, the introduction of photographs, collages and differently sized lettering as well as the introduction of colour. Bigger headlines could attract readers more easily than little ones (as in *Izvestiia* and *Právo* in 1999), but once a reader was close by, a list of other potentially appealing articles inside the paper flagged by the trailers (*AiF* and *Právo* in 1999) could prove equally enticing. Overall the pages appeared to be less crowded, with even the text of the articles using a slightly larger font. A tendency to provide some information in ‘bite’ forms, i.e. shorter, in order to hold readers’ attention and to support the text, occasionally to replace it by visual images, began to gain ground. What was taking place was “a commodification of medial products” (Osvaldová, 2004b:12).

Overall, between 1979 and 1999, there has been a reduction in the number of headlines placed on the front pages. Information had to be packaged differently in the competitive environment in order to attract no longer homogeneous readership, advertisers and patrons so that the publications could survive. Access to new technology and perhaps even changing fashions may have also exerted influence on the appearance of the front page and so had an effect on the number of headlines.

7.3 Headline infrastructure or Mutually exclusive strategies

As the findings have shown, there were considerable changes between socialist and post-socialist usage of mutually exclusive strategies. Some lost their appeal

(e.g. clear topic-naming), others (e.g. summarising and erotetic) became more frequent. The main changes are discussed below.

7.3.1 Topic-naming and summarising headlines

As the findings demonstrated (Tables 5.2 and 6.2), there was a shift away from topic-naming headlines in all the publications over the studied period. This shift was small between 1979 and 1989 but quite substantial between 1989 and 1999. *Ogonek* did not quite fit the pattern in 1979, the paucity of headlines it offered its readers that year was perhaps responsible for its preference of summarising headlines, but it too reduced its topic-naming headlines by 14% between 1989 and 1999.

Table 5.3 shows the pattern of change between the different Russian publications. In the two dailies the decline in topic-naming strategies is demonstrated in the Table 7.2 below. The drop between 1979 and 1989 was fairly small, followed by a much greater drop in 1999.

Topic-naming headlines	1979	1989	1999
izv	57.3%	56.6%	16.5%
rp	59.2%	57.5%	17.4%

Table 7. 1: Figures show % of topic-naming headlines for each year of the two publication

There were similarities between the Russian and Czech publications in the use of summarising headlines, too. All of them increased their use of these headlines between 1989 and 1999, *Rudé právo/Právo* the most (see Table 6.2) but the general trend can be seen in all of them. The loss of topic-naming headlines and a preference for summarising headlines may have been due to an attempt to offer headlines which would partially or even fully replace the article by giving the summary in the headline instead. This would seem compatible with the assertion of several researchers that many readers only read the headlines (e.g. Mardh, 1980:11; Lazareva, 1989:3).

In the weeklies summarising headlines¹⁷⁰ retained roughly the same levels in 1979 and 1999 although they dropped considerably during 1989 (Table 5.2).

As Bartošek (1997:63) says, longer headlines tend to be more complete content-wise, while short 1-, 2- or 3-word headlines are of a more ambiguous nature. The more specific the topic is, the more likely it is that more words will be needed for the headline, e.g.:

Nebude mi vadit pokles popularity kvůli opatřením proti krizi, říká Zeman (1rp99/4b)
'I will not mind a drop in popularity because of anti-crisis measures, Zeman says'

Referring to 'foreign findings' Bartošek (ibid.) states that compressing the content of complex articles into short headlines is risky and may not faithfully reflect the content. Perhaps the more litigious world we live in might affect the newspaper editors and push them into producing longer headlines.

The decline in the usage of the topic-naming type of headline and preference for summarizing headlines may be due to other reasons still, such as the distinction between hard and soft news and a corresponding difference between the styling of headlines. Some researchers (e.g. Gilmore, 1990) believe that there is evidence showing the use of nominal headlines without a verb (most such headlines would fit the category of topic-naming headline as classified in this study) for soft news¹⁷¹ in newspaper or a magazine articles headlines. In this view (Gilmore, ibid.) hard news would incorporate a verb.

The front pages of *AiF*, *Izvestiia* and *Rudé právo* in 1979, however, contained predominantly hard news, that is 'stories about factual occurrences' (Tuchman, 1978:47). They included articles on political issues, both domestic and foreign; *Izvestiia* also offered news on agriculture and industry. Less than 1% of the headlines presented human interest stories, and around 1% dealt with the arts. Thus, other explanations might be more fitting.

¹⁷⁰ Clear and obscure summarising strategies - combined figures

¹⁷¹ 'Soft news might be characterized as human interest stories' Tuchman, 1978:47; cf. soft and hard news in Bell, 1991:14

According to several researchers studying the Soviet press, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (and similarly the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) exercised strict ideological supervision over all the media because they were seen as the Party's tools of propaganda (Androunas, 1993:X). Importance was also placed on the collective rather than individual achievement, so soft news, such as human interest stories, would be infrequent. The Party's supervision included attention to the language of the media (Solganik, 1981:3). Thus the headline writers may have been advised by the Party ideologues to use a certain type of headline in preference to other types. Linked with this is the idea of producing clear, exact and concise headlines in order to achieve communicative clarity, as Solganik put it (1981:12). Additionally, the shortness of headlines was seen as offering solid informative content, in Laine's words, 'the more laconic the heading, the more concentrated the theme' (1982:10). This can be seen as related to the tendency to omit words that did not contain essential information (Morley, 1998:66).

There is a contradiction – the topic-naming headlines are seen both as offering solid informative content (Laine, 1982:10) and as ambiguous (Bartošek, 1997:63). The reason for the different interpretation is possibly a different situation. Certainly, understanding topic-naming headlines is generally not as easy as understanding summarising ones.

The absence of a verb might also give a more static view of events, thus emphasizing the status quo. Additionally, elliptical or block headlines could have several readings. Such ambiguity may also have been useful if it was difficult to predict the specific outcomes of a given situation

Production methods may have played a role, too. In the 1970s and 1980s, before the arrival of computers, hot-metal typesetting of newspapers was the laborious means of production, so short headlines were preferred (Bartošek, 1997:61). The change to summarising headlines may also have been due to the need for headlines to serve as complete informational 'bites'. As the century progressed to its close, the pace of life increased and there were more ways to receive

information, e.g. through a multitude of television and radio stations, the Internet etc. Readers may have been less likely to wish to read whole articles. Conversely, long headlines may have been preferred in the later years in the hope that fuller information about the topic might pique readers' interest sufficiently to purchase the publication. The need to sell was an economic pressure that all publications were under after the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia and the collapse of the Soviet Union, but which was absent in the earlier period. Some of the above considerations might have influenced the different usage of summarising headlines of the weeklies.

Finally, the influence of fashion cannot be discounted. The style of headline writing is no more excluded from outside influences than other types of writing.

7.3.2 Erotetic headlines

Asking a question of any sort is not considered a good strategy according to the literature for future editors and journalists. After all, newspapers are supposed to give answers and to inform readers (Hodgson, 1993). Yet erotetic headlines are found in the newspaper pages.

Terenteva (1993) in her study of Russian publications found that erotetic headlines were particularly popular in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This is to a large extent borne out by our data (Tables 5.3 and 6.2) where the 1989 corpus shows the greatest number of erotetic headlines for *Izvestiia* and *Ogonek* as well as for *Rudé právo*. *AiF* is the only publication which increased the use of erotetic headlines still further in 1999 (Table 5.3), perhaps in step with the more recent western thinking (LaRoque, 2000b). *Ogonek* broadly followed the dailies, particularly *Izvestiia*, its usage of erotetic headlines reaching 9% in 1989 and dropping to 7.3% in 1999. The similarities and the differences between the two dailies can be seen in Table 7.2 below.

Erotetic Head-lines	Year of publica-tion	<i>Izvestiia</i>		<i>Rudé právo</i>		Total	
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
	1979	1	2.3%	4	8.5%	5	5.5%
	1989	27	61.4%	40	85.1%	67	73.6%
	1999	16	36.4%	3	6.4%	19	20.9%
Total		44	100.0%	47	100.0%	91	100.0%

Table 7. 2: Erotetic headlines x year of publication x *Izvestiia* and *Rudé právo*

The continued greater use of erotetic headlines in Russian publications (in 1999) is perhaps related to the political situation in the Russian Federation, which was far from settled. Although political life was not calm in the Czech Republic either, it was nevertheless somewhat less tumultuous.

The use of erotetic headlines can be interpreted in different ways: sharing feelings of uncertainty with the readers over a particular situation; offering an easier “way to get the reader into the story” ((LaRoque, 2000a:78); attempting to create a sense of solidarity with them (Fowler, 1991:99), and, as Terenteva (1993:68) put it, setting up contact, engaging with the readers and arousing their interest in the article. From the editor’s point of view a question headline may “be safer than a statement because it allows the readers to make the judgment” (LaRoque, 2000:44).

Using different types of erotetic headlines can be an unconventional way of offering information, - first asking a question and then providing an answer, either in the second part of the headline, in the subhead or lastly in the article itself. According to Terenteva (1993:67), it is one way of forming implicitly negatively evaluative headlines. LaRoque (2000a, 2000b) sees such headlines more as providing an opportunity to look behind the scenes, enticing the readers through mystery and surprise to the article, and entertaining them at the same time.

Among the erotetic headlines those with an interrogative pronoun were the most frequent within the Russian corpus. They seem more emotional than simple statement headlines and more pointedly emphasize the embedded proposition,

which can turn them into negatively evaluative headlines (Terenteva, 1993). The absence of the social or news actor implied in the headline can also stimulate readers' interest and get them to read the article:

Что тормозит аренду? (14aif89/3a)
Chto tormozit arendu?
 ‘What is slowing down renting/leasing?’

Erotetic intonational headlines¹⁷² were the second most popular grouping in the Russian corpus:

«Газпром» купит места в Думе? (9aif99/3a)
“Gazprom” kupit mesta v Dume?
 ‘Will Gazprom buy seats in the Duma?’

Terenteva (1993) found that about half of the headlines of this type in her material expressed negative evaluation. This was achieved by the unexpected turning of a statement into a question, thus placing into doubt the situation described by the headline. In the corpus collected for this study the overall percentage of negatively evaluative erotetic headlines was about 14%. The distribution over the different types of erotetic headlines is shown in Table 7.3.

	Erotetic headlines							
Evaluation in headlines	Erotetic pronoun		Erotetic ‘li’		Erotetic intonation		Erotetic other	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Non-evaluative	75	2.2	19	0.6	34	1.0	120	3.5
Evaluative positive	1	0.2	0	0	2	0.6	3	0.9
Evaluative negative	18	4.8	3	0.8	5	1.3	18	4.8
Other	2	0.9	2	0.9	7	3.2	4	1.8
Implied negative	5	4.1	5	4.1	4	3.3	10	8.1
Implied positive	1	0.6	0	0	3	1.8	4	2.4
Total	102	2.2%	29	0.6%	55	1.2%	159	3.4%

Table 7. 3: Evaluation in Czech and Russian erotetic headlines (extract from Table A7.2: Evaluation x mutually exclusive strategies in the appendix)

¹⁷² Erotetic intonational headline is my phrase. It stands for sentences in which interrogation is indicated by intonation only (in speech) or shown by a question mark (in writing).

The negatively erotetic headlines occurred most frequently in 1999 and among the headlines with an interrogative pronoun.

Headlines included in the category *erotetic other* make an attractive proposition, because they can be interpreted in various ways - question, statement, even exclamation. Macháčková (1985:218-9) discussed such headlines in her study and called them *doplňovací* (i.e. providing additional information). They were the most popular erotetic headlines in the Czech corpus reaching a high of 5.0% in 1989. An example of such an 'informing question' (Bartošek, 1997:65) is the following headline:

Kdo je Václav Havel (284rp89/4e)
Who is Václav Havel

They were found in the Russian corpus too. In the example below, most prominent section of a complex headline runs as follows:

Как я выжил (11ogon99/1a)
Kak ia vyzhil
'How I survived'

From the smaller strapline readers learn that this is going to be an interview. They are therefore expecting an answer to an implied question which enables these headlines to attract readers' attention.

The increase in the use of erotetic headlines in 1989 was perhaps due to greater uncertainty, an attempt to offer more information, or to tease readers, by offering incomplete information and tempting them to buy.

7.3.3 Exclaiming headlines

Exclaiming headlines found in the two corpora did not follow a unified trend and the overall use of them was low. The dailies utilized such headlines most frequently in 1979, although less so in Czechoslovakia than in the USSR, while the weeklies exploited them more in 1989. The frequency dropped further in 1999 in all the publications except for *Izvestiia* where it rose, though it did not reach the 1979 level (Table 7.4).

	1979	1989	1999
aif	0.7%	2.5%	1.3%
ogon	0 %	3.0 %	0.8%
izv	3.5 %	0.3 %	1.0%
rp	1.4 %	0.5 %	0.3%

Table 7. 4 Exclaiming headlines x publication x year

In 1979 *Izvestiia* was offering exhortations and used political rhetoric, as did *Rudé právo*, so the exclaiming headlines were more frequent in these publications in that period, for example:

За процветание родины, за торжество коммунизма! (55izv79/1a)
Za protsvetanie rodiny, za torzhestvo kommunizma!
 ‘For the motherland to flourish, for communism to be victorious!’

The low number of exclaiming headlines in *AiF* (and none in *Ogonek*) in 1979 was due to the purpose of the two publications

1989 was an eventful year in the political life in the USSR and the CSSR. However, the dailies, being government and party mouthpieces, perhaps strove for calm, thus they published very few exclaiming headlines. On the other hand, *AiF* and *Ogonek* were at the forefront of reporting the events but also alerting readers to a wide range of issues, explaining the various ideas and supporting change, and this was reflected in some of their headlines, e.g.:

Пора бы пересмотреть!
Pora by peresmotret’!
 ‘It’s time to review!’ (35aif89/3a)

Though used much more sparingly in 1999, the headlines with exclamations were exploited occasionally because they were vivid and could attract attention, e.g.:

Спасай кто может
 Массовое помешательство женщин в Геленджике (28ogon99/3a)
Spasaj kto mozhet
Massovoe pomeshatel’stvo zhenshchin v Gelendzhike
 ‘SOS
 Mass madness of women in Gelendzhik’

7.3.4 Wishing and *other* headlines

Very few wishing headlines were found in the corpus. *Izvestiia* shows a steady decline in wishing headlines over the years from 2.7% in 1979 to 0.7% in 1989 and to 0.3% in 1999. *AiF* used this type of headline slightly more in 1989 (1.3%) but in 1999 this type of headline declined also, to 0.7%. Only three headlines were found among all the *Ogonek* headlines. The Czech publication did not use this strategy at all.

The various residual constructions declined overall although there was an increase in their usage in 1989, probably a reaction to the developments which excited, confused and puzzled the readers, e.g.:

И все же ... (44aif89/3a)
I vsio zhe...
‘And all the same...’

The *other adverbial* also all but disappeared by 1999. Their diminished use is no doubt related to the idea of providing readers with more specific and extensive information:

Obilní kombajny se vracejí ze Slovenska
Operativně při sklizni (180rp79/1a)
‘Cereal combine harvesters are returning from Slovakia.
Flexibly during harvest’

According to Macháčková (1985) such headlines fulfilled the *agitační* (exhorting, rousing or persuading) function, with readers filling in the required phrases such as ‘it is required’, ‘it is urgent’, ‘it is necessary’ and a suitable verb.

Another reason for their decline was possibly due to the fact that they were rather typical of the language used in the media during the socialist period, even clichéd; journalists were trying to distance themselves from both the period and the language and readers wanted language that was fresher.

Thus, regarding the mutually exclusive strategies it can be said that overall the four publications seem to display some similarities in their usage of these strategies, especially as far as topic-naming, summarising and erotetic headlines

are concerned. The strategies the different publications chose in the individual years reflect their purpose but also show their reaction to the changing environment in which they had to exist.

7.4 Non-exclusive language strategies

The selected syntactic and stylistic strategies are called non-exclusive because two or more such strategies can co-exist in the same headline. The findings which were presented in chapters 5 and 6 are compared and discussed below. Syntactic strategies are dealt with in section 7.4.1 and stylistic strategies in section 7.4.2.

7.4.1 Syntactic strategies

Syntactic strategies examine sentence form, sentence completeness, sentence complexity of the headlines and selected verbal categories. In their majority these strategies complement /correspond to the mutually exclusive strategies. As those strategies were analysed at length, the discussion here is kept at minimum.

7.4.1.1 Sentence form

The statement was by far the most frequent sentence form found in the two corpora; 91.5% of all the headlines were in the form of a statement. The other sentence forms were found in very small numbers only, see Table 7.5.

Sentence form	Frequency	Percent
statement	4259	91.5
question	289	6.2
imperative	71	1.5
exclamation	28	0.6
wishes	6	0.1
Total	4653	100.0

Table 7.5: Sentence form (all publications over the three years)

The dailies *Izvestiia* and *Rudé právo* consistently published over 90% of their headlines in the form of statements. *Ogonek* also used predominantly statements as the main sentence form. Although *AiF* used other sentence forms more

frequently than the other publications, it nevertheless retained the majority of its headlines in the form of the statement, Table 7.6.

Sentence form	1979	1989	1999
aif	97.8%	74.2%	66.4%
izv	99.2%	95.9%	96.7%
ogon	85.7%	85.0%	91.1%
rp	97.7%	97.4%	98.9%

Table 7. 6: Sentence form (statements) x year x publication

The findings in this section broadly correspond with findings in the mutually exclusive strategies section. The majority of topic-naming and summarizing headlines are in the form of statements, while a large proportion of the erotetic headlines is in the form of questions. Imperatives are found mostly in the category *other*, but also in some exclamations (see Table A7.3 in the appendix).

Statements suit the main purpose of the media texts best, whether the texts inform, educate or persuade. The place for other sentence forms is reserved more for other functions, such as vividness, attracting attention, sharing doubts etc. See discussion in the section on mutually exclusive strategies above.

7.4.1.2 Sentence completeness

Sentence completeness was plotted in simple opposition. Incomplete sentences were mostly found in the topic-naming headlines, although some summarising headlines were also in the form of incomplete sentences, e.g.:

Уроки истории, призывающие к бдительности (9a79/2d)
Uroki istorii, prizyvaiushchie k bditel'nosti
'History lessons calling for watchfulness'

If the figures across the four publications are compared in individual years, a major reversal of fortunes is observed in headlines with complete and incomplete sentences. In 1979 only 18.4% of all headlines were in the form of complete sentences. The number grew to 26.4% in 1989 and 62.1% in 1999; thus it more than trebled in the 20 years. This trend is seen most clearly in the dailies. In 1979 *Izvestiia* and *Rudé právo* published 17.6% and 16.4% respectively of headlines in the form of complete sentences, with a comparatively small increase in 1989 for

each, to about four times the original figure in 1999: 70.4% in *Izvestiia* and 82.0% in *Rudé právo*.

AiF also broadly followed this trend although the changes were nowhere near so prominent. Using 27.2% of headlines in the form of complete sentences in 1979, *AiF*'s editors increased the percentage to 36.0% in 1989 and still further to 46.9% in 1999. Despite the increases, the majority of *AiF*'s headlines were still in the form of incomplete sentences in 1999. Practices in *Ogonek* differed in 1979 when it used 57.1% of headlines with complete sentences. The percentage dropped down to 19.2% in 1989 and then climbed to 38.2% in 1999. Thus, barring 1979, it broadly followed the trend noted in the other publications.

Several possible reasons have been offered for the changes such as a decline in topic-naming strategy, different production methods, a wish to offer fuller information in the headline, a need for greater clarity, and even fashion.

Researchers studying the language of the media (e.g. Morley, op.cit.; Svozilová, 2003:74) state that the language of headlines can depart from the norm; for example, certain normally compulsory elements of the sentence can be omitted. This is done in order to offer brief and condensed expression. Macháčková, writing in 1985 (op.cit.:217), commented that it was used extensively and mainly for reasons of economy. It would seem that this kind of economy was no longer required so extensively in 1999.

7.4.1.3 Complexity of sentences

Four different variables were plotted. Changes found in this category were also closely related to the changes in mutually exclusive strategies, because, as the century progressed, the headline writers began to favour headlines that were more self-contained and could perhaps be read independently of the article.

The increase in the usage of complex sentences is broadly followed by all the publications. Although there are considerably fewer headlines with coordinate sentences than with subordinate ones and there are fewer complex headlines in all

the publications than simple or block ones, nevertheless their numbers increase. It can be said, then, that the changes in this category broadly follow the developments in the mutually exclusive strategies. The summarising headlines require more information than can be provided by block headlines, hence there are more simple sentences and there is a rise in complex sentences, too. See Table A5.2 and Table 6.4. Our findings confirm the assertion made in Čechová et al., (1997) that complete and complex sentences are used with increased frequency.

7.4.1.4 Selected verbal categories

Three categories within this section are of particular interest: headlines with a copula, headlines with a full lexical verb and headlines without a verb. Although other categories were plotted, overall none of them has shown notable growth or decline over the years; none exceeded 4.5% and most of them remained under one per cent.

Table 7.8 shows the changes for all the publications. Headlines with a copula and headlines with a verb with full lexical meaning show an increase over the three years analysed in the study whereas the headlines without a verb have declined. The change is greatest between 1989 and 1999. This is consistent with the changes of topic-naming and summarising headlines. There were some variations between the different publications but all four were consistent in the increase of headlines with a full lexical verb.

Selected verbal categories	1979	1989	1999
headlines with a copula	4.8%	7.0%	10.1%
headlines with a full lexical verb	13.8%	18.0%	47.7%
headlines without a verb	74.5%	64.1%	28.6%
Total % within year of publication	93.1%	89.1%	86.4%

Table 7. 7: Selected verbal categories over the three years studied

It is plausible to assume that many of the reasons speculated about earlier when discussing the complexity of headlines, can be offered here also, such as editorial needs for clear, unambiguous information, changes in production, fashion change,

pandering to readers' laziness, need to be explicit and so forth (Bartošek, op.cit.; Mardh, op.cit.; Lazareva 1989).

What emerges clearly in this section is the correspondence between the mutually explicit strategies and the syntactic strategies. Also notable is the fact that the main changes occurred between 1989 and 1999. It is possible to speculate that the period between the two years had a significant impact on the development of the printed media.

7.4.2 Stylistic strategies

This group encompasses several different strategies that can make headlines more memorable, entertaining and attractive to readers with the help of language. Additionally these headlines can –though the reverse is also possible- offer greater clarity and better comprehension and at times show either overtly or covertly the author's opinion.

7.4.2.1 Playing with words - language playfulness

Language play can be achieved through a variety of means. As Alexander (1986:162) puts it when discussing punning in headlines, the criteria for their use include catchiness by which he meant headlines being striking and memorable, colourfulness, raciness and pithiness. These features attract the reader's eye and "hence hopefully his brain" (ibid.). To a greater or lesser extent the same criteria are applicable to other aspects of language playfulness, such as polysemy, homonymy, incrustations etc..

About 9% of Russian headlines (Table 5.10) but only 3% of Czech headlines (Table 6.8) included some features of language play. The figures for all the publications show that there was a rise (a very slight one in the Czech publication 0.7%) between 1979 and 1999. The aggregate for the Russian publications in 1979 was 7.4%, which grew to 8.2% in 1989 and 11.2% in 1999.

A number of differences were noted during the analysis of this aspect of headlines. There was a variation between the different Russian publications as well as between the Czech and Russian publications. *Rudé právo/Právo* offered merely 2.3% of its headlines with different word order, polysemy, contrast or word repetition whereas the Russian periodicals published headlines including these features in 9% of cases and included superlatives and homonymy. Distribution also differed across the years. The Russian publications tended to increase their usage of the above elements with time, especially in 1999 whereas *Rudé Právo* was more balanced. The only exception in the Czech publication was the use of atypical word order which peaked in 1989. Some features, such as superlatives or incrustations (use of another alphabet within the text) were not found in the Czech publication at all.

Within the Russian publications *AiF* tended to use these features most frequently, followed by *Ogonek*. The exception was the application of unusual / emphatic word order which *Izvestiia* used most frequently but the largest number of such headlines was found in the 1979 corpus, and diminished with time.

Polysemy¹⁷³ and homonymy were found in the Russian corpus only. Illustrations of such headlines are below:

The phrase Добро пожаловать *Dobro pozhalovat* 'means 'Welcome'. Adding the reflexive particle *-sia* to the verb gives the headline a totally unexpected meaning:

Добро пожаловаться! (16aif99/3h)
Dobro pozhalovat'sia
 'Have a good mourn!'

Another headline, this time from *Ogonek* serves as an example of homonymy. Dzhus is a surname but it is also a borrowing from English that describes a type of fruit drink. The strapline and the subhead give more information – presumably the main headline would by itself not keep readers' attention.

Лучший фотограф страны и его девушки (19ogon99/2a)
100% Джус
 Премия Академии свободной прессы вручена Александру Джусу

¹⁷³ Only one headline was found in *Rudé právo* with polysemy.

Luchshij fotograf strany I iego devushki
100% Dzhus
Premiia Akademii svobodnoj pressy vruchena Aleksandru Dzhusu
‘The best photographer in the country and his girls
100% Dzhus
The Academy of the Free Press award handed to Aleksandr Dzhus’

The reason why the dailies used these features less often than the weeklies may be related to the type of material offered on their front pages: *Izvestiia* and *Rudé právo* printed generally hard news and so used sober, neutral language. Although both *Právo* and *Izvestiia* became independent they retained much of their reader base and at least in the earlier stages their journalists; this may have influenced the writing style. As several researchers noted (e.g. Bignell, 1997) publications often strive to use the idiom, or coded discourse, familiar to their readers to create rapport and feeling of affinity, which may translate into loyalty.

The increase of these playful features with time has been caused by a greater variety of items offered to readers on the front pages of the dailies, and by all the publications in an effort to attract readers and to amuse them and so catch the attention of potential buyers.

7.4.2.3 Rhetorical figures

Rhetorical figures have been seen over time as a way of achieving special stylistic effects both in speech and in writing (Crystal, 1997:334). Of the many different figures only a few are now in frequent use, typically metaphor, metonymy, simile, hyperbole and personification.

When percentages for headlines with rhetorical figures are compared, it is clear that there are almost twice as many of them in the Russian corpus (12.9%) as there are in the Czech corpus (7.0%), Tables 5.12 and 6.10 respectively. Metaphors are the most popular figures followed by personification, metonymy and irony (see Table A7.4 in the appendix for frequency percentages).

Newmark (1988:106 ff) distinguishes between six different types of metaphors: dead, cliché, stock, adapted, recent and original ones. Dead metaphors have not been included in this study because the images have lost their power and have become commonplace, so bland in fact, that they no longer trigger readers' awareness of anything unusual, for example:

Нужны реальные шаги к миру (290izv79/2a)
Nuzhny real'nyie shagi k miru
'[What is] needed are realistic steps towards peace'.

The word *steps* is no longer felt as a vivid image in this context, it is a standard usage when action or measures are meant.

Odešel slušný politik, litují přátelé i odpůrci (273rp99/2c)
'A decent politician departed, friends and opponents alike grieve'

A similar situation is found in the headline about Josef Lux where the euphemistic expression 'odešel' as in *left, departed*, is used for *died*,:

The cliché and stock metaphors overlap, the clichéd ones are essentially stock metaphors that have been overused. The Russian collection of 1979 headlines abounds in various military expressions such as *bitva* 'battle', *gonka vooruzhenii* 'arms race' and similar, which are stock metaphors but due to overuse can become rather ineffective or turn into a fixed expression. 'Rainbow' and 'river' (as seen in the example below) also appear on several occasions (predominantly in 1979) to offer well-known but still reasonably effective images:

Электрическая река (130izv79/4d)
Elektricheskaia reka
'River of electricity'

Czech stock metaphors, as the Russian ones, often originate in the military, sporting or gaming lexis; examples can be seen in the first two headlines below; but other subject areas (e.g. the weather) are also exploited, as in the third headline:

Horníci vytrvale bojují o splnění plánu
Květnový plán překročen (131rp79/1a)
'Miners persistently fight for fulfilling the plan
May plan overfulfilled'

Josef Lux boj o život prohrál (273rp99/1a)
'Josef Lux has lost the fight for his life'

Déšť bomb a granátů (124rp79/3a)
'Rain of bombs and grenades'

The above examples of metaphors are getting close to becoming clichéd. The headline that follows next is already in that category:

Opouštějí vyježděné koleje (250rp89/4i)
'Getting out of the rut'

No adapted metaphors were found in the collected material.

The recent and original metaphors as Newmark (ibid.) classified them have been treated as one group:

Заложники прописки (47aif89/1b)
Zalozhniki propiski
'Hostages of the *propiska*'

Propiska was an official certification that gave an individual the right to study, work and reside in a particular town or area. It was abolished in the early 1990s.

In the next example, the idea is of a very firm securing of their position by two Czech political parties, fixing it in concrete, barricading themselves in:

S nelibostí sleduji pokus ČSSD a ODS zabetonovat své pozice
(182rp99/2a)
'I observe CSDP¹⁷⁴'s and CDP's attempt to cement their positions (to fix their positions in concrete) with displeasure'

The following headline uses personification as well as metaphor, which serves a similar purpose to the 'black spots' (borrowed from R.L.Stevenson, so it is also intertextual) that were found in the Russian headlines, compare:

Dzurinda a Schuster dostali výhružné žiletky (168rp99/4a)
'Dzurinda and Schuster¹⁷⁵ received threatening razor blades'

«Черные метки» для олигархов готовы (29ogon99/1a)
"Chernyie metki" dlia oligarkhov gotovy
'"The black spots" for the oligarchs are ready'

Overall the metaphors in 1999 seem more innovative than in the earlier years.

¹⁷⁴ Česká strana sociálně demokratická –Czech social democratic party, CSDP; Občanská demokratická strana –Civic democratic party, CDP

¹⁷⁵ Contemporary politicians

It is more difficult to classify metaphors that have been borrowed or calqued from other languages. The examples below have come into Czech from Russian and English.

Demokracie a evropský dům (263rp89/4e)
‘Democracy and the European house‘

The image about the European house as a political concept was popularised by Gorbachev (see chapter 3). The English metaphor relates to economy:

Přes advokáty se mohou přepírat špinavé peníze (273rp99/2a)
‘Dirty money can be laundered via the legal profession‘

The reasons for the popularity of metaphors have been studied a great deal. In the view of the classical teachers of rhetoric, metaphors were seen as a form of condensed simile. For Roman Jakobson (1956, reprinted in Dirven and Porings, 2003:41) the metaphor was one of the two fundamental ways of thought (the other being metonymy). As he saw it, metaphors were based on similarity and metonymy was based on substitution. A more recent approach views metaphors as “performing an essential role in human language and cognition” (Crystal, 1997:66), by mapping one cognitive domain on to another. This entails transposing some features or properties that belong to a known person, object or concept onto the as yet unfamiliar one (Ibid.). Newmark (1988:104) sees the purpose of metaphors as twofold – referential or cognitive, and pragmatic or aesthetic. The former is to describe, the latter to interest, please or surprise. Crystal (ibid.) uses the terms ‘conceptual’ and ‘poetic’ for this distinction.

Table 7.8 shows the distribution of metaphors across the years and publications in the analyzed material. Of the 79 headlines that contained metaphors in 1979 the largest number were in *Izvestiia* and *AiF*. Both these publications reduced the number of metaphors quite dramatically in 1989, while *Ogonek* and *Rudé právo* increased their use. The overall number of headlines with metaphors dropped that year to 65 while the total number of headlines collected increased. In 1999 the situation was reversed. *AiF* and *Izvestiia* increased the numbers of metaphors but *Ogonek* and *Právo* dropped them. (The percentages are out of 79, 65 and 113 headlines.)

Year of publication		aif	ogon	izv	rp	Total / out of
1979	Count	24	0	42	13	79
	%	30.4%	0.0%	53.2%	16.5%	100.0%
1989	Count	9	16	12	28	65
	%	13.8%	24.6%	18.5%	43.1%	100.0%
1999	Count	46	4	45	18	113
	%	40.7%	3.5%	39.8%	15.9%	100.0%

Table 7. 8: Metaphors x year x publication

The year 1989 was a complicated year for the Czechoslovak government and the Communist Party. The Soviet leadership was sending out contradictory signals, the East Germans were seeking sanctuary in the West German embassy in Prague or trying to get to West Germany via Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and the population was getting restless. The few rhetorical figures used on the front pages tend to be critical:

Co brzdí činnost organizací Národní fronty (57rp89/4i)
‘What is putting the breaks on the activity of National front organisations’

The reversal of usage that is seen in 1999 may be an attempt by the different publications to approach reporting of news in another way from one another or from their past ways. For *AiF* and *Izvestiia* it may have been an attempt to brighten up the headlines and make them more vivid; *Ogonek* and *Rudé právo* may have been trying to adopt a more serious appearance in the face of greatly increased competition, attempt to make the headlines more colourful or simply to try a different style:

Havel odsoudil bujení rasismu a praktiky Klausovy strany (1rp99/1a)
‘Havel condemned the rampant growth of racism and practices/dodges of Klaus’s party’

Apart from the use of metaphors all the other figures declined in 1989 but recovered in 1999. There seems to be no simple explanation for this fluctuation. A possible reason might be the use of metaphors to help clarify more complex or less familiar concepts, or compare a given situation to another (especially when using military expressions) to show the urgency for action, e.g.

V bramborářských oblastech mobilizují všechny síly
Zemědělci mají příležitost (110rp79/1b)

**‘In potato growing areas all efforts are mobilised
Farmers have an opportunity’**

When metaphoric ideas involve verbs, the result tends to be personification and there are many examples of this across the three years:

ЛЭП¹⁷⁶ шагает по барханам (130izv79/4c)
LEP shagaiet po barkhanam
‘EPL steps out/marches over the desert dunes’

Остановись, мгновение (24ogon89/2b)
Ostanovis’, mngnoveniie
‘Moment, stop’

«Отечество» отказалось от «Яблока» (133izv99/4d)
“Otechestvo” otkazalos’ ot “Iabloka”
‘“Fatherland” turned down “Iabloko”’¹⁷⁷

Figurative use/meaning describes a common type of extension of meaning for a word, i.e. a metaphoric transfer of sense takes place (Wales, *ibid.*:151). In the example below a natural phenomenon, a whirlwind, is linked with an action of an individual:

Вихр Малявина (49ogon89/2a)
Vikhr Maliavina
“Maliavin’s vortex/whirlwind”

Unlike metaphors, metonymy lost some of its ground over the period, and especially in 1989, with a slight recovery in 1999.

Metonyms (0.9% in the corpus) are seen by many researchers as being at the opposite pole from metaphors. Whereas metaphors are “predicative”, metonyms are seen as “substitutive”; “positional similarity” in the former is contrasted to “semantic contiguity” in the latter (Jakobson, *ibid.*:43). As Wales states (*ibid.*:252) in metonymic figures “a referent is replaced by the name of an attribute or of an entity related in some semantic way, e.g. cause and effect, instrument, source”.

¹⁷⁶ ЛЭП stands for Линия электропередачи, *Linia elektropredachi* ‘Electric Power-Line’

¹⁷⁷ Fatherland and Iabloko are names of political parties

The Russian headlines employ metonyms to vary descriptions of recurring referents. In the headline below, Peking (Beijing) stands for the Chinese government. The metonymic expression is more succinct and punchy:

Разбойничья агрессия Пекина (3aif79/1a)
Razbojnich'ia agressiia Pekina
'Highwayman's (robbing, plundering) aggression of Peking'

In another headline the expression *Strana sovetov* 'the country of the Soviets' stands in place of the USSR. The expression is more emotive and colourful than the official title. Similarly so the following headline displays an emotive and picturesque quality.

Суворовец Иванов в высотке на Смоленской (3aif99/3a)
Suvorovets Ivanov v vysotke na Smolenskoj
'Suvorov Academy graduate in the tall building on Smolensk Street'

In this case the referent 'Ministry of Foreign affairs' has been replaced by the phrase 'the tall building on the Smolenskaia Street' again creating an emotive as well as an intriguing headline¹⁷⁸.

A whole host of ideas combine in the headline about the television station *Nova* below. The first one is metonymy, *Nova* stands here for the editors, managers or researchers who work for the TV station; then there is personification, to be deceived, duped or taken in, expressed in Czech by an active verb as in took the bait, swallowed [something] hook, line and sinker, accepted without question. *Kachna* in this context is the calque of *canard*, an item of news that is false (from French), so a borrowed metaphor. Finally, there is a possibly unintentional joke¹⁷⁹:

Nova naletěla na kachnu o postřeleném ministrovi (266rp99/3a)
'Nova swallowed the *canard* about the shot and wounded minister hook, line and sinker'

Irony, another rhetorical figure, 'is found when the words actually used seem to contradict the sense actually required in the context' (Wales, *ibid.*: 224):

¹⁷⁸ There is also intertextuality involved, for discussion see below

¹⁷⁹ The word 'střelený' in Czech is used to describe somebody who is batty or barmy and even though the word in the headline is 'postřelený' meaning 'shot' the two words are very close.

Солнце России взшло в деревне Мымрино (30ogon99/2a)
Мымринец Геннадий Зюганов – титан возрождения, его глубочайшие
познания в истории, философии, экономике, географии и арифметике
поражают всех

Solntse Rossii vzoshlo v derevne Mymrino
Mymrinets Gennadiy Ziuganov – titan vrozozhdeniia, iego
glubochayshiie poznaniia v istorii, filosofii, ekonomike, geografii i
arifmetike porazhaiut vsekh

‘The sun of Russia rose in the village Mymrino
The Mymrino native Gennadiy Ziuganov is the titan of resurrection, his
profoundest knowledge of history, philosophy, economics, geography and
arithmetic amazes everybody’

Very often several different features come together, as in the headline above. Here the elements are combined in order to send up the leader of the Russian Communist Party. Comparing him with the sun is a poetic and powerful metaphor, which is then seriously devalued by naming the village Mymrino. This name has the same root as the verb *mymrit’*, to mumble, to speak unclearly. *Titan* is a hero of the ancient Greek legends, who fought the gods. In the more modern meaning the word denotes a talented individual who has accomplished great deeds, the word in this meaning is of a high register. The superlative is an exaggeration, and the crown of it all is the anticlimax, academic disciplines contrasted with arithmetic. It is a very cleverly composed headline with great impact.

Thus the reasons for using rhetorical figures are manifold. The publications either applied them to describe and help understand or clarify a new concept or to entertain. It is unclear, however, why there existed such a fluctuation between the different publications. One might speculate that as in 1989 *Ogonek* was taking a leading role in providing its readers with articles of an investigative nature, it used metaphors (and other figures) more often to help its readers grasp things more easily. On the other hand, it is possible that it strove to provide intellectual entertainment for its readers. In a different political situation but for similar reasons *Rudé právo* may have also resorted to rhetorical figures, showing a desire to enliven the headlines and make them more attractive. As the last example showed, rhetorical figures can be employed to express irony, thus to show in an oblique way the writer’s attitude to a particular subject.

7.4.2.3 Language formality

Language formality changed only a little between 1979 and 1999. The number of formal expressions declined (from 96.4% in 1979 to 91.5% in 1999) and was replaced by neutral language. Some informal expressions and even a few *zhargonisms* found their way into the headlines in 1999. However, there was a difference between the Czech and the Russian publications. *Právo* published very few headlines with informal language and no headlines were found with colloquial expressions. The number of bookish expressions dropped only a little, from 6.6% in 1979 to 5.4% in 1999 (the figures in *Izvestiia* were 1.1% and 0.3% respectively), and informal expressions also lagged behind the Russian publications. It would seem that *Právo* was very slow and possibly unwilling to relinquish the way of writing that it had developed over the years. Possibly it was catering for an older and therefore linguistically less flexible readership.

Despite Chloupek's (1993) assertion that the publicist style cannot use purely standard language if it is to achieve its aims, the four publications offered their readers most of the headlines in neutral language, over 90% of headlines in each of the three years studied. There were no headlines with informal language found in the 1979 *Ogonek* and *Rudé právo* at all and only a very small number in *AiF* and *Izvestiia* (1.5% and 0.1% respectively). What was offered were headlines with high or bookish lexical items and expressions (Tables 5.14 and 6.11).

Most of the changes noted were found in the Russian corpus and they occurred in 1989 and even more so in 1999. Not only did the high/bookish lexical items all but disappear and the informal lexis increase, there were also occurrences of colloquial and *zhargon* expressions. The category *other* in 1999 included regional as well as incorrect Russian:

Окно у Парыж (121izv99/3a)
Okno u Paryzh
'Window at Parys'

These developments reflect the changes in press language management, specifically the removal of supervision over the language of the press by the

state¹⁸⁰. Additionally it also shows that the printed media, in their endeavour to attract and retain customers, were striving to use language that was used by their patrons, the buyers, by utilising, at least to a certain extent, their language (Schaffer, 1995; Hartley, 1982). It is also possible that a conscious attempt was made by editors to distance themselves from the ‘socialist’ style of writing.

7.4.2.4 Tendencies in evaluative headlines

Western and Soviet researchers alike accept the significance of evaluation as it helps focus the events in readers’ minds and help them understand the headline better. It can also convey the author’s, or the publication’s interpretation of events or their attitude to the news item.

The majority of headlines that make up the two corpora are non-evaluative. Overall, the negative evaluation is slightly greater than the positive evaluation. The shift from positive to negative evaluation is considerable; positive evaluation dropped from 13.4% in 1979 to mere 4.2% in 1999. The negative evaluation was comparatively low in 1979 and 1989 but it went up to 12.0% in 1999 (Table 7.9). This seems consistent with the findings of western researchers that negativity is a major attraction to readers and is therefore exploited by the newspapers.

Evaluation in headline	1979		1989		1999		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
positive	177	13.4%	104	6.3%	71	4.2%	352	7.6%
negative	81	6.1%	93	5.6%	202	12.0%	376	8.1%

Table 7. 9: Evaluation in headline x year

This trend holds for all the publications except *AiF*. Whereas in 1979 *Izvestiia* and *Rudé právo* both published a large number of positive headlines (13.5% and 12.2% respectively) and a small number of negative headlines (03% and 5.9% respectively), *AiF* printed 17.6% positively but 39.7% negatively evaluative headlines. This is undoubtedly closely linked with its purpose in the early years of

¹⁸⁰ However, the new century is witnessing calls for a language policy to ‘protect’ Russian from ‘destabilisation’ (Ryazanova-Clark, 2006)

its existence. *AiF* also differed in that the number of evaluative headlines was greater than that of the non-evaluative ones (Table A7.5 in the appendix).

The same trend continued in 1989. While the three other publications still printed more positively evaluative headlines, *AiF* continued to produce more negatively evaluative ones although the overall number of evaluative headlines fell considerably (negative to 18.6%, positive to 9.3%). *Izvestiia* remained consistently the most neutral of the publications, followed by *Rudé právo/Právo* and *Ogonek*, with *AiF* offering the greatest number of evaluative headlines every year. Finally in 1999 all four publications offered their readerships more negatively evaluative headlines than positively evaluative headlines and more overt than covert negative ones. It would seem that overt negative evaluation was considered more useful than a mere implication and perhaps more attractive.

The distribution of the evaluation reflects the political reality of the times. 1979 was the time of the cold war and as could be expected most references to the West were negative, because it was seen as the enemy of socialism, whereas the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were allies and so were portrayed in a positive light.

1989 was an ambivalent year politically. The Soviet Union was undergoing a re-appraisal of its history, its attitude to the West, its whole outlook. Events were unfolding there which the other socialist countries viewed with uncertainty. Yet, in the same year the negotiations regarding the reduction in conventional weapons were under way: this again was reflected in the different way of viewing the realities vis-à-vis the West and the socialist world. Figures show that the number (percentage) of evaluative headlines was lowest then, both in the USSR and the CSSR.

According to Bell (1991:151-2) evaluation is the means by which the significance of a story is established, it helps to focus the events. Terenteva (1990:2 and 1993:65) states that evaluation is the expression of the speaker's attitude to the object spoken about. The author notes several different scales of evaluation, e.g.

innocent-guilty, and adds a scale specific to newspapers which she calls social evaluation (Terenteva, 1990:2). Solganik (1981:9) defines evaluation as the part of lexical meaning capable of expressing the attitude of the speaker to a given object or idea referred to by the word. Whatever purpose is supported by evaluation, it can be expressed both overtly and covertly, with some lexis being evaluative in its citation form and other lexis only in context. It is often combined with emotivity and not always easy to separate from it.

When examining the findings from the two corpora (Tables 5.16, 6.12) several trends emerge. The first trend concerns the variations in non-evaluative headlines. There was a small increase in non-evaluative headlines in 1989 (from 75.4% in 1979 to 78.3%). This figure dropped by over 10% in 1999, down to 68.0%. That seems to imply that in 1989 the headline writers were attempting to offer more neutral headlines than in either of the other two years and that there were more evaluative headlines in 1999 than in 1979. The explanation lies probably again in the need to sell – evaluative headlines give rise to more interest than neutral ones, thus their number was increased.

Another trend revealed a shift from positive to negative evaluation over the period: This tendency to concentrate on the negative aspects of events has been observed in the Western press also, and negativity has been given as one of the features that readers are attracted to (Galtung and Ruge, *ibid.*).

The third trend concerns an increase of headlines that are ambiguous and that can be seen as either positively or negatively evaluative depending on readers' subjective point of view. This may be intentional as readers may be enticed to read the whole article to find out what the interpretation is.

7.4.2.5 Evaluation referents

The majority of evaluative headlines (13.8% out of 26.5% of all the headlines) did not provide a reference to nationality or statehood. The lowest number of referents was given in 1989 (no reference given in 15.7% of evaluative headlines) and the

highest in 1999 (no reference given in 12.6% of evaluative headlines). Two main trends were noted: in the Russian corpus the positive references to the Soviet Union, Soviet people and Soviet events disappeared altogether; the few that were made were negative. Soviet (Union, people, event) was replaced by Russian and both positive and negative references were found.

It is therefore possible to speculate that it was more acceptable to criticize Russian state, people or events in 1999 than the Soviet state, people or events in 1979 and 1989, that people were freer to express their opinions. The other outcome based on the findings is that evaluation became more important. Russian readers, it would seem, liked evaluative headlines and negative evaluation appeared to be more popular than positive evaluation. A similar trend occurred in the Czech corpus where Czech replaced Czechoslovak as positive, although a few headlines offered negative evaluation.

Evaluative references to the West were negative throughout the period, but their number dropped quite sharply in 1989 and rose somewhat in 1999. It would seem that 1989 was the most neutral year as far as evaluation of front page headlines is concerned. The political situation that year in both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia was quite tense and it would seem that the publications were keeping the number of evaluative headlines down.

7.4.3 Abbreviations

Although the use of abbreviations does not show any strong tendency it is possible to conclude that different abbreviations appeared on the front pages and therefore reflected the changes in the life of the country.

The main difference is of course not so much in the number of abbreviations, although that also is of interest, but in the abbreviation themselves, that is what institutions, enterprises and states they denote. There is a considerable change found here. A large group of abbreviations referring to Soviet institutions, ranks

etc. disappeared and was replaced by new abbreviations depicting the new post-Soviet reality.

The most frequent abbreviation in 1979 was *SSSR* 'the USSR', although in many instances the title was written in full (cp. Šebesta, 2001). This was also the case with other states whether they were socialist or within the Soviet sphere of friendly states, e.g. 'German Democratic Republic'. Only rarely were such states written up as an abbreviation, e.g. 'GDR'. The abbreviation *TsK KPSS* 'Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union' was also found frequently. Other abbreviations typical of the period but not very frequent on the front pages were *SEV* 'The Council for Mutual Economic Aid'¹⁸¹, *BAM* 'Baykal-Amur Mainline Railway', *LEP* 'Electric Power Line', and *ASSR* 'Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic'. Additionally, the publication *AiF* offered *NATO*, *SShA* 'USA' and *TsRU* 'CIA'.

The range found in 1989 was a little wider. Apart from the political expressions *profsoiuzy* 'trade unions', *rajsovet* 'regional council' or *Tsentrizbirkom* 'Central electoral committee' and the old blends *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz*, 'cooperative farm' and 'state farm' respectively, more informal expressions came in such as *detsady* 'kindergartens', *narkomafiia* 'drug-mafia' or *agrofirma* 'agricultural firm' as well as *PKK* 'Permanent Consultative Committee', *IeES* 'the EEC', *SOI* 'Strategic Defence Initiative'¹⁸², *OOP* 'Palestinian Liberation organization, the PLO', all signaling new players and new interests.

Only in the 1999 were there really noticeable changes. *RF* 'the Russian Federation' replaced the USSR to a great extent, although not entirely, and a new entity appeared: *SNG* 'Community of Independent States'. The Soviet Communist party was replaced by the Russian Communist Party, *KPRF*, 'The Communist Party of the Russian Federation'; other parties also appeared: *IABLoko* 'Apple' (made of the initials of its original leaders) and the *RNE*

¹⁸¹ This was the economic arm of the Warsaw pact, known also as COMECON.

¹⁸² Known as *Star wars*

‘Russian National Unity Party’ were two that made it to the front pages that year. Among the various foreign institutions and organizations were *MVF* ‘International Monetary Fund, the IMF’ and *MOK* ‘the International Olympic Committee’, the ‘IOC’. The media were represented by *ORT* ‘Public Russian Television’ and *NTV* ‘Independent Television’, and *AiF* appeared on its own front pages many times over, advertising itself to the best of its ability.

The changed economic system can be seen in the appearance of different banks such as *TsB* ‘Central Bank’ and *SBS-AGRO* ‘Agricultural Bank’ as well as the introduction of *GKO* = *Gosudarstvennye kratkosrochnye obligatsii* ‘State short-term bonds’, *RAO* = *Rossiiskoe aktsionernoe obshchestvo* ‘Russian joint-stock company[ies]’, and a variety of private companies such as *NK Yukos* ‘Oil Concern Iukos’. Changes to the state security saw *KGB* ‘Committee for State Security’ replaced by *FSB* ‘Federal Security Service’ and the introduction of *MChS* = *Ministerstvo po chrezvichainoi situatsii* ‘Ministry for Emergency Measures’ to respond to various extraordinary situations, such as floods, fires etc., unacknowledged publicly in the Soviet period.

The most frequent political blend in *AiF* as in *Izvestiia* in 1999 was *gosduma* ‘State Duma’, the Russian parliament. Other blended words that occurred several times were *sberbank* ‘savings bank’, *gazprom* ‘gas industry’ and *spetssluzhby* ‘special (secret) services’. *Demdvizhenie* ‘democratic movement’, *gensek* ‘general secretary’ *Ievrosoiuz* ‘European Union’ and *durdom* ‘madhouse’ were each found once. Several blends were made by combining the first part of the word *televizionnyy* with other words, e.g. *telediva* ‘TV star’, *telezhurnalist* ‘TV journalist’ and *teleobraz* ‘TV portrait’. *Tsentral’nyy bank* ‘Central Bank’ was sometimes referred to by its abbreviation *TsB* or by the blend *Tsentrbank*. The names of various ministries also underwent this treatment, so the ‘Ministry of Justice’ became *Miniust* and the ‘Ministry of defence’ *Minoborony*¹⁸³. New reality also crept in such as *inomarka* ‘a foreign make of car’, *kibervoyna* ‘cyberwar’, *kompromat* ‘compromising material’ *interdevushka* ‘prostitute’ or *terakt* ‘terrorist

¹⁸³ Such blends existed during the Soviet period but were not used in the newspapers, at least none were found on the front pages that were examined.

act'. Both Fern (1994) and Kliushina, (2000) noted this tendency, Fern seeing it more as a negatively evaluative process creating disparaging words, Kliushina more as a means for economy of expression.

The important thing to note here is that these processes were not that new, but that the words so created were mostly confined to the informal or even colloquial layer of the language earlier. It was only in the latter part of the 1990s that they were employed on the front pages of newspapers and journals. Again it underscores the tendency to get closer to the readers by employing the language they use.

The main reason for using abbreviations is their economy. *Rudé právo* as the organ of the party and of the government used official names for states (e.g. *Československá socialistická republika*), and the names of organisations also tended to be made of several words (e.g. *Komunistická strana Československa*). Many-worded names and titles seemed to be fashionable especially in 1989. Their abbreviated form was preferable to repeating the whole multiple wording, thus: *ČSSR, KSČ*. Šebesta (2001), however, warns that excessive use of abbreviations can lead to poor comprehension. In the 1990s many new organisations and businesses sprang up and people were less familiar with them, whereas most of the abbreviations used during the socialist era were well known to everybody. Perhaps that is why in 1999 there were fewer abbreviations used.

When the publications are examined for the presence of abbreviations in the front page headlines, the difference between the Czech and Russian publications is very noticeable. Throughout the period studied *Rudé právo/Právo* uses consistently more abbreviations than the Russian publications (Table 7.10)¹⁸⁴. Although there are differences between the Russian publications, none uses abbreviations quite so prolifically as the Czech newspaper. The differences in Russian headlines may be accounted for by the publications' purposes. *Ogonek* used abbreviations sparingly. *AiF* in 1979 served a very specific clientele which was familiar with abbreviations. It dropped their use considerably in 1989 and the increase in 1999 did not reach 10%. *Izvestiia*, as the government paper, although much more

¹⁸⁴ The % is out of the total number of headlines per year per publication, e.g. out of 136 *AiF* headlines in 1979, 13 incorporated an abbreviation)

widely read than *AiF* in 1979, also catered to a readership that was familiar with the abbreviations used in it. New organisations and parties began to appear in 1989, and the newspaper also began to use abbreviations for the political titles which in previous periods were often written out in full.

Presence of abbreviations and blends	aif	ogon	izv	rp
1979 abbreviations	9.6%	0.0%	10.0%	22.1%
blends	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%
1989 abbreviations	4.2%	0.4%	19.7%	30.1%
blends	0.0%	0.4%	3.5%	0.0%
1999 abbreviations	6.9%	4.9%	12.4%	21.5%
blends	2.5%	0.8%	7.6%	0.0%

Table 7. 10: Presence of abbreviations x year x publication

If abbreviations and blends are added the figure is 23.2%. It drops to 20.0% in 1999, the trends little changed. Blends have not been found in the Czech corpus at all. The wide use of abbreviations is likely linked to the newspaper’s position, the politicised language it used, and its readership¹⁸⁵.

7.5 Non-exclusive content strategies

In this section the findings on News/social actors and related categories are contrasted, including gender, occupations, nationality and evaluation of news/social actors. Further two areas are discussed – that of subject matter and of intertextuality.

7.5.1 News / social actors

The findings in the preceding chapters have shown that there was an overall increase in headlines with news/social actors in both the Czech and Russian publications. Although the overall trend is clear, only *Izvestiia* actually increased

¹⁸⁵ Other possible reasons were given above, chapter 6, section 6.4.1.3

the headlines with news/social actors in every one of the three studied years. The other three publications decreased the number of such headlines in 1989 (Table 7.11).

Presence of news /social actor	aif	ogon	izv	rp
1979	36.8%	42.9%	17.3%	39.9%
1989	20.3%	32.9%	37.0%	38.6%
1999	52.5%	73.2%	66.0%	74.9%

Table 7. 11: Headlines with a news/social actor x year x publications

In the Western media the importance of news actors was recognized already in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Hartley, 1982). News actors can provide a variety of attractions: people in positions of power add weight to a statement or argument, popular personages can add glamour – both these qualities can be categorized as ‘eliteness’ (Galtung and Ruge, op.cit.). Ordinary people on the other hand are often used by publications to personalise a news story or to describe an experience, they provide material for what might be termed ‘human interest’ story.

This was not the situation in Central and Eastern Europe. There the majority of news actors named in the headlines in the 1970s and 1980s were communist party leaders or heads of other governments or their representatives and only occasionally worthy members of the general public, such as cosmonauts or record breaking miners or farmers. The reason for this was the ideology of collectiveness. It was the collective over the individual that was important and so if there were news actors they were often anonymous teachers or scientists or fishermen. Primarily though it was the achievements of the party and the country that were in the foreground.

The information given about the politicians and party men in 1979 was not exactly captivating. There were no discussions of policy, involvement in negotiations etc. The tendency was to report visits by foreign heads of state to the

USSR and the CSSR and to give extracts from or the whole of their speeches as well as reporting the Soviet or Czechoslovak general secretary's visits at home and abroad together with his speeches (all the Soviet and Czechoslovak general secretaries were men). Reporting on sent and received telegrammes in which congratulations were expressed on (re-)election to a political office or some state anniversary by the same people was also popular.

Macháčková's (1985:216) reasoning that the absence of a news actor was often intentional in order to induce the reader to read the text and find the missing information, was a plausible explanation for the situation in 1979.

Things changed in 1989. Articles appeared that dealt with topical matters rather than the general secretaries' coming and going. Also, in view of the complicated political situation in both countries it is possible to imagine that journalists and editors did not necessarily wish to ally themselves with names that might be non-conducive to their own success were the situation to change, hence a reduced number of news actors in most of the publications.

The increased prominence of news actors in headlines in 1999 may be due to a greater variety of factors. Support for an argument by influential people from the world of politics and economy would be attractive to journalists and editors alike, but glamour, fame and notoriety appear to be even more powerful magnets for the reading public. They, the sportsmen, the popular singers, the entertainers, were exploited in all the publications to some degree. Another possible explanation may be an attempt to pander to natural human curiosity about finding out what other people, especially famous people, do. All these reasons could be seen as enhancing the saleability of the newspaper and therefore its commercial success in the competitive world of the late 1990s.

7.5.1.1 Affectors and affecteds

As can be seen from Table 7.12 below, in all the selected categories affectors predominate, be they named or generic individuals, organisations, nations or

states. It would appear that the Czech and Russian reading public preferred to see affectors in the headlines, doers and benefactors, who offered an opinion or their experience, rather than affecteds (i.e. victims or patients).

News/social actors		Affectors Frequency	Percent
	named individual	476	10.2
	generic/unnamed	429	9.2
	organisation(s)	235	5.1
	nation(s)/peoples	33	0.7
	country/state	101	2.2
	other	190	4.1
	none	3189	68.5
	Total	4653	100.0
News/social actors		Affecteds Frequency	Percent
	named individual	200	4.3
	generic /unnamed	364	7.8
	organisation(s)	91	2.0
	nation(s), peoples	15	0.3
	country, state	58	1.2
	other	132	2.8
	none	3793	81.5
	Total	4653	100.0

Table 7. 12: Affectors and affected – frequency (combined corpora)

Western researchers (e.g. Kleinke, 2000) found that affecteds tend to be female more often than male. This is the case in the Russian and Czech material also (Table 7.13), except for 1999).

		affectors		affectors		affecteds		affecteds	
Named individual		F		M		F		M	
	1979	0	0	18	4.4%	0	0	37	22.6%
	1989	5	13.2%	94	23.2%	3	33.3%	43	26.2%
	1999	33	86.8%	294	72.4%	6	66.7%	84	51.2%
	Totals	38	100%	406	100%	9	100%	164	100%
Generic individual									
	1979	2	8.7%	21	28.0%	2	11.1%	10	17.9%
	1989	2	8.7%	16	21.3%	2	11.1%	10	17.9%
	1999	19	83.6%	38	50.7%	14	77.8%	36	64.3%
	Totals	23	100%	75	100%	18	100%	56	100%

Table 7. 13:News actors x gender x year (within the gender of news actors)

Comparisons of affectors and affecteds show that in 1979 there were no females in the *named individual* group, whether affectors or affecteds, and in the *generic individual* group there was an equal number of headlines with female affectors and affecteds, although when turned into percentages, there are more female affecteds than affectors. The same situation occurs in 1989, the actual count of headlines shows a larger number of affectors than affecteds (*named individuals*) or the same number in both groups (*generic unnamed*) but in percentages there are more affecteds than affectors. In 1999 the figures as well as percentages show a greater number of female affectors than female affecteds.

7.5.1.2 Gender

As Table 7.14 shows, women's presence in front page headlines is low (for % see also Table A7.6 in the appendix). Headlines naming women are over seven times less frequent than headlines naming men in the Russian corpus of front page headlines. Furthermore, 12% out of the total headlines use a generic masculine term. The situation in *Rudé právo* is similar. Women are named in 1.7% of headlines, men in 22.1% and 10.5% of headlines use a generic masculine term.

The category 'unclear adults' includes words which can refer to both men and women but are grammatically masculine. Although theoretically such words can be applied to both men and women, in practice they tend to be seen as referring to men. Some researchers claim that professional and occupational labels are always covertly male (e.g. Poynton, 1989:58); recent research has shown that people tend to assume that the more prestigious occupations when expressed by a generic or gender non-specific term, are held by men only and the low paying or non-prestigious jobs are seen as applicable to both women and men (Valdrová, 2001).

This is particularly the case with the Czech corpus, because Czech, much more than Russian, is able to convert by means of various suffixes the masculine forms into feminine forms without diminishing the position of the woman, e.g. čtenář, čtenářka. (male/female reader), přítel, přítelkyně (male/female friend). Yet the masculine form is used, in plural, e.g. čtenáři rather than čtenáři a čtenářky.

Gender of news actors		Year of publication			Total
		1979	1989	1999	
	female adult	5	13	72	90
	male adult	128	230	440	798
	male child	0	1	3	4
	F&M adults	3	7	17	27
	F&M children	4	1	0	5
	unclear adults	109	163	262	534
	unclear children	6	2	7	15
	mixed all	27	19	55	101
	unknown	4	4	5	13
	none	1033	1214	819	3066
Total		1319	1654	1680	4653

Table 7. 14: Gender of news actors x Year of publication (count only)

This may be for reasons of economy or elegance of expression perhaps¹⁸⁶ (see Valdrová, 1997:90) but it makes it more difficult for women to identify with the concept expressed by the word. The situation in Russian is fairly similar in respect of words other than occupational labels. Words such as ‘krestianin’ ‘krestianka’, (male/female peasant), ‘grazhdanin’, ‘grazhdanka’ (male/female citizen) when used in plural are invariably used in the masculine form whether they denote men only, men and women or women only. The preference for males is consistent with research carried out already (Kleinke, 2000, Valdrová 1997, 2001). No data regarding named versus unnamed actors (except the data collected and analysed in this study) is known to this author.

Occupational labels in Czech are grammatically marked to show the feminine gender in the same way as other nouns do, thus *profesorka*, *doktorka*, *poslankyně*, *knihovnice* (female professor, doctor, MP, librarian) etc. without any negative overtones. Yet in headlines the tendency is to use the masculine form, as Valdrová (2001) demonstrated. Our research confirms her findings (304 headlines in the Czech corpus refer to male adults, 144 to generic adults and only 23 to female adults).

¹⁸⁶ In an agreement with an adjective the sentence becomes quite cumbersome: *Čtenáři a čtenářky byli veselí / veselé*. Readers were cheerful

The situation is different in Russian. There are several suffixes used to mark gender. However such labels are then strictly feminine and cannot denote a mixed group, e.g. 'studentki', 'plavchikhi' (female students, female swimmers), unlike the masculine forms which can denote both males only but also groups of males and females, thus sending out mixed signals to women.

When it comes to occupational labels, a large number of professions do not have a specifically marked feminine form at all, e.g. 'khirurg', 'dantist', 'pozharnyi' (surgeon, dentist, fireman). Then there is a group for which there are forms marked for gender, e.g. 'uchitel'nitsa', 'sekretar'sha' (female teacher, female secretary). Although these forms are not necessarily negative, they are not stylistically neutral either, giving a slightly lower value to the profession holder. That is why women tend to refer to themselves as 'uchitel'' or 'sekretar'', using the masculine form which carries more prestige. The preference for masculine forms springs possibly also from the fact that many occupational labels with the suffixes '-kha', '-ka', '-tsa', '-sha' are stylistically negative, such as 'vrachikha', 'fizichka' (female doctor, female teacher of physics) or ironic, e.g. 'dotsentsha', 'kolezhanka' 'chinovnitsa' (female assistant professor, female colleague, female official). Further more, suffixes '-sha' and '-ka' may denote wives of various profession holders, e.g. 'generalsha', 'soldatka' (the wife of a general, the wife of a soldier). Finally there is a small number of nouns that describe occupations performed originally by women only, such as 'medsestra', 'uborshchitsa', 'doiarka', or 'prostitutka' (nurse, cleaner, milkmaid, prostitute). There are now masculine forms available for the first three 'medbrat', 'uborshchik', 'doiar') although they tend to be used ironically¹⁸⁷. 'Prostitutka' retains its feminine form even if used about a man.

In addition to the categories of female, male and unclear adult, the material was examined for several other gender / age categories or subsets. Female and male adult grouping includes headlines with words such as *lidé* (people), *pracující* (working people), or gives two nouns, one feminine, one masculine, e.g. 'Maniac

¹⁸⁷ Information partly derived from Russian dictionaries, personal observations and discussions with Russian friends.

is stalking Juliana' (34aif99/3h). 'Female and male children' was very poorly represented – by the word *deti* (children). There were no examples of a female child mentioned in any one of the headlines. The grouping 'mixed all' included words like *potomki* 'descendants', or different nationality words, where the headline was too ambiguous to place it into another grouping., e.g. 'Where are Russians holidaying this summer?' (26aif99/3k). The grouping 'unknown' included headlines with expressions such as 'twins'. However, all these groupings, with the exception of unclear adults, appeared in very small numbers.

Whether 'unclear adults' are included or not the increases in the male actors far outstrip those in female actors especially in the dailies. This is probably due to the fact that these newspapers report predominantly political stories and politicians in the USSR, CSSR, RF, CR tend to be male. A higher number of women in *Ogonek* headlines is due to it publishing articles on art where women are represented more (poets, singers etc.).

The increases in the named news actors' category became more typical in 1999. This was undoubtedly a part and parcel of personalisation of news, a much exploited feature in headline writing. It is also something that readers enjoy; therefore all the publications seem to have resorted to this stratagem.

7.5.1.3 Occupations

Over the years there was a shift in the occupations of the news actors (cp. subject matter below). The categories 'unnamed adult' (female and male) and 'unclear adult' were the most likely ones to provide an occupational label, (e.g. doiarka, sotsiologi etc.). When giving a named individual, their occupation was occasionally specified, although generally the readers were expected to know:

Отъезд тов. Л.И.Брежнева в Софию (10izv79/2a)
Otiezd tov. L.I Brezhneva v Sofiu
'Departure of comrade Brezhnev to Sofia'

This was the norm during the whole period under study.

Лужков заявляет о невозможности альянса с коммунистами
(5izv99/4a)

Luzhkov zaiavliaiet o nevozmozhnosti al'iansa s kommunistami

'Luzhkov announces the impossibility of an alliance with the communists'

As the data showed there were several occupations which were fairly frequent. The largest percentage of news actors was involved in politics, both domestic and foreign. The artistic community was next, followed by the military and police and finally economy and finance. The remainder of occupations was clustered at around 0.5%.

For the most part, the headlines dealt with 'hard news' when the news actor was a named male. When headlines contained named female news actors, the names were also expected to be known to the reader, but the headlines did not introduce any truly serious topics, rather they implied some scandalous gossip or human interest story, such as Gorbacheva fighting cancer or Albright telling secrets. It would seem that women in headlines were rarely taken seriously even if they held respected occupations (lecturer in the case of Gorbacheva, politician in the case of Albright), at least on the front pages.

Furthermore, female adults appeared in a limited set of occupations, predominating in the arts, mostly performing arts, and politics (most of these were non-Russian, e.g. Thatcher, Albright, Davies), with single instances of farming, administrative work, religion, the police and journalism. None were economists, financiers, scientists of any kind or involved in law, industry or sport. Of course, the unclear adult headlines may have topped articles about women, too, but without reading the whole texts, the readers could not tell.

There is another type of headline, loosely linked to occupations (of the men). In these headlines female generic terms are attached to well-known men, such as 'Brezhnev's niece' about whom they are able to disclose some personal details.

Methodological factors have caused an apparent amplification of the percentages of male and female actors whose profession was given in the headlines because in the case of well-known public figures their profession was plotted in the table even though it was not explicitly given, e.g. Haničincová was marked as actor and

Albright as politician. However, the principle was applied equally to women and to men, e.g. Lux was marked as politician and Rastorguiev as entertainer thus the ratio was unaffected.

7.5.1.4 Nationality

The question of nationality was discussed above in the context of evaluation referents, and it applies here in the same way: Soviet and Czechoslovak of the 1979 and 1989 were replaced by Russian and Czech in 1999. However, with many news actors the nationality was not given at all. This may have been another editorial ploy to attract readers. By not specifying the nationality, the reader would be left with one of two possibilities: either s/he was curious about the origin of the news actor and thus would be enticed to purchase and find out, or s/he assumed s/he knew¹⁸⁸ and was interested what the person was doing. Such readers might also wish to check that they were correct in their assumption. This again might have led to a purchase.

The *assumed* CSSR/CR figures rise from 1.6% in 1979, to 2.9% in 1989 to 13.6% in 1999. Presumably the editors expected that readers were familiar enough with the home news actors that it was not necessary to give their nationality. The same is true about *assumed* Russian figures, which rose from 0.1% in 1979 to 5.5% in 1989 and reached 21.5% in 1999.

There were two headlines in the whole of the Russian corpus that mentioned Czechoslovak and Czech news actors. *Rudé právo* published nine and thirteen headlines with Soviet news actors in 1979 and 1989 and six headlines with Russian news actors in 1999. News actors of other nationalities were found in all four publications. *Rudé právo/Právo* was the most consistent regarding headlines of news actors of other nationalities, averaging 13.0% over the three years under scrutiny, *Izvestiia* averaged 8.7% and the two weeklies were around 5% (4.5% and 5.2% for *AiF* and *Ogonek* respectively). There may be several reasons for such differences. One may be that the Czechoslovak/Czech newspaper was more

¹⁸⁸ Readers who do know are flattered that their knowledge is recognized. Kellett (1933:54)

aware of news actors' nationality than were the Russian publications. Possibly the practice may have been different, offering the nationality as a matter of fact.

7.5.1.5 Evaluation of headlines with news actors

In the Russian corpus the positive and negative evaluation for female adults is equal (9.0% each) whereas adult males tend to be evaluated more often negatively (6.9%) than positively (4.9%). Where the evaluation is only implied both female and male adults are evaluated more often negatively than positively. The Czech corpus displays more positive evaluation for both women and men whether the evaluation is obvious or implied.

Both Russian and Czech data show that women are evaluated more frequently than men, although the divergence is greater in the Russian data than the Czech data: the variation being 11.9% as opposed to 4.4% respectively. The 'unclear adult' category is treated in very much the same way as male adult category where evaluation is concerned. The implication that can be drawn from that is that such generic nouns are in fact seen as being male rather than female, irrespective of the fact that they are said to describe men and women equally. (Cf. Tables 5.32 and 5.33 and 6.18).

If the comparison is made of individual years, then a trend towards more negative evaluation is found in the 1999 corpus. This is consistent with the general evaluation in headlines over the same period and with western research (e.g. Bell, 199:156; Bartošek, op.cit.:46)) about the importance of negative news as a sales factor. This *negativity factor* (Bell, 1991; Galtung and Ruge, op.cit.) is one of the concepts that is used to prioritise news and which makes news more attractive to readers and so aids sales.

7.5.2 Subject matter

It is to be expected that topics found on the front page at different times will vary since they reflect the concerns of the population as well as the agenda of the state. The presence or absence of certain subject matter is therefore quite revealing.

In 1979 political rhetoric and agriculture were responsible for about 36% of all headlines in *Izvestiia* and 18% in *Rudé právo*, politics, especially foreign politics, was another area to which attention was devoted. Political rhetoric was a necessary part of the Communist party's arsenal to exhort people to greater efforts. Agriculture was of grave concern, often not performing sufficiently well and resulting in deficits of various foodstuffs. On the other hand there were subject areas that were absent, such as foreign disasters – those were on the inside pages (domestic disasters were generally not reported at all). Religion, crime (one headline in the 1979 corpus) and prostitution were also taboo subjects. Terrorism as a term did not even make it into the dictionary (Ozhegov, 1984). The Russian secret services (as all secret services strove to do) also shunned publicity in that period. The fact that no front page headlines dealt with the elderly and their concerns can be viewed in two ways. Either they were so well looked after that there was no need to talk about them, or a certain amount of ageism was exercised. This seems rather more likely, especially when *Ogonek* front page images are taken into account, displaying generally happy young faces.

An increased variety of topics that were found in 1989 bears witness that the publications were trying to engage their readers on a greater variety of fronts. As might be expected there were headlines on foreign and domestic policies. Domestic politics acquired much greater importance, as different parties emerged as real players and people became interested in politics, whereas the interest in foreign political affairs diminished somewhat. Articles on the military (negotiations of reductions of conventional arms during 1989) appeared more frequently. Some topics were of special interest in 1989 because the changes in the political make up of Europe made it possible to talk about them, e.g. history, arts and education. The environment in particular was very topical, with acid rain damaging forests, and countries urging one another to curb harmful emissions. Political rhetoric all but disappeared, as did agriculture and the various congratulatory telegrammes which were either abandoned altogether or were relegated to the inside pages.

By 1999 with the changed political system different priorities and interests came to the foreground. Agriculture and industry were replaced by economics and financial matters. Topics were included that were considered attractive to the readers rather than the state. Sport, health, disasters, bizarre stories and human interest stories increasingly found their way onto the front pages of the newspaper. The personalisation of news stories (eliteness) as well as negativity (e.g. disasters), have been found to be appealing.

7.5.3 Intertextuality

Allusive headlines are by their very nature generally fairly easy to remember because they refer to another already known text, and they can often be amusing or intriguing. It could be said that intertextuality in headlines is generally a deliberate, creative appropriation (Kellet, 1969), perhaps a borrowing from or even an echo of one text in another.

The combined number of intertextual headlines in the Russian corpus is just under 10%; there is a clear distinction between the weeklies and the daily, though: *AiF* used this tactic in 12.4% and *Ogonek* in 20.4% of headlines, *Izvestiia* in 6.5%. The Czech *Rudé právo* resorted to intertextual headlines in 5.2%, (of which 3.6% are quotations). It is apparent then, that magazines tended to be more creative than the daily papers. Possibly the fact that writers on the weeklies had a little more time than on the dailies to prepare the headlines may be significant. Or it could have been the readers who expected this type of headline as entertainment, as an in-group or as more erudite.

The findings show (Tables 5.35 and 6.19) that the most frequent inspirational sources are literature, slogans and sayings but that popular culture is beginning to be a significant source of intertextuality. Different approaches have been made when creating allusive headlines. The simplest way is to use a quotation without changing it in any way. Another approach is to retain the wording fully or mostly unchanged but adapt the meaning to a different context. Finally the wording can be changed quite drastically, although sufficient elements of the original need to be retained for recognition to take place.

In the headline below some of the features of the original form are retained but the meaning is adapted to the new context. Here there two allusions are intertwined: a politician's quotation in the first part¹⁸⁹ and a revolutionary song in the second part, which the reader needs to know:

Мы – Верхняя Вольта, но наш бронепоезд ... (6aif99/3d)
My - Verkhniaia Volta, no nash branepoezd...
 'We are Upper Volta, but our armoured train...
 (Poor and peaceful but capable of self-defence...)

To begin to understand the text, the reader needs to know that Upper Volta (now known as Burkina Faso) was an extremely poor African country, and that armoured trains are very expensive. The song part implies power (armoured train) but also peaceful intentions (the train is in the siding). The headline might therefore be understood as admitting that Russia is struggling with its economy but it is capable of defending itself if sufficiently provoked, though fundamentally it is a peaceful country.

The fabric of the next headline is similarly complex. There is a biblical reference (Matthew 21:12) contrasted with the informal expression *chinovnitsy* (Genitive singular) entwined with the gender of the noun:

Изгнание чиновницы из храма
 Заведующую тульской культурой запрещено пускать в церковь
 (137izv99)
Izgnaniie chinovnitsy iz khrama
Zaveduiushchuiu tul'skoj kul'turoj zapreshcheno puskat' v tserkov'
 'Expulsion of woman official from temple
 Manageress of Tula cultural department banned from entering church'

The Russian word *chinovnitsa* (Nominative singular) is a colloquial, somewhat condescending feminine equivalent to the standard, neutral¹⁹⁰ male form. This marking for gender diminishes the role holder's standing and sounds patronising.

Slogan-like headlines have always been popular because their concise nature makes them easy to remember. Russian slogans were used in various parades or

¹⁸⁹ Verbitz (2004) noted that the quotation about the Soviet Union being 'Upper Volta with rockets' was coined by Margaret Thatcher. It was also attributed to Helmut Schmidt, the West German chancellor, by D. Halberstam, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Upper_Volta [accessed 29Dec07]

¹⁹⁰ Some dictionaries classify 'chinovnik' as pejorative, e.g. Russian –English Oxford Dictionary, 1997, s.v., in which case the negative aspect is magnified

exhibited on buildings; others were constructed following the same pattern to fit different occasions. The conventions of newspaper style at any given time require certain constructions and define the choice and the functioning of the words in the newspapers.

Slogans from 1979 carried “a conscious and concentrated class and party character” (Solganik, 1981:8):

Под знаменем мира и труда (1aif79)
Pod znamenem mira I truda
‘Under the banner of peace and work’

A very different approach to a slogan can be seen in the following example from 1999:

‘Хочу в депутаты’ политическая программа Дарьи Асламовой
«Землю-крестьянам! Воду – матросам! Ацидофилин –
ацидофилам¹⁹¹!» (35ogon99)
‘Chochu v deputaty’ politicheskaja programma Dar’i Aslamovoj
“Zemliu –krestianam! Vodu – matrosam! Atsidofilin – atsidofilam!
‘ “I want to become a deputy” the political programme of Daria Aslamova
“Land to the peasants! Water to the sailors! Acidic milk to acid users!!” ‘

The seriousness of the original historical slogan used during the October revolution calling for land to be given to peasants and factories to workers has undergone a ‘creative appropriation’ indeed (Kellett, 1969, 12-13, quoted in Lennon, 2004:62), used in rather a frivolous, tongue in cheek way.

The idiomatic phrases call for a wider knowledge of different text-types and recognition of a pattern. For example, the political discourse in the 1970s included the expression ‘balance of power’. This was used a great deal during the numerous meetings dealing with arms reduction. The writer of the headline

За ширмой «равновесия страха» (3aif79)
Za shirmoi ‘ravnovesiia strakha
‘Behind the screen of ‘the balance of fear’ ‘

used the pattern to denigrate the West and reproach it for hiding behind a screen of fear. By introducing the phrase ‘balance of fear’ the headline also carries the connotations of the arms race.

¹⁹¹ The word hasn’t yet found its way into the dictionaries and a number of the Russian informants (as of February 2006) had no idea of what it might mean. The translation is pure guesswork playing with the sounds rather than insisting on the meaning. JH

Vysotskii was an iconic performer in the 80s and 90s and he is still very much loved, so snippets from his songs have been exploited by the headline writers. The headline below quotes a line from his song Охота на волков ‘Hunting wolves’;

Юрий Маслюков: «Мы как волки, которых обложили флажками»
(12aif99/3a)

Iurii Masliukov: "My kak volki, kotorykh oblozhili flazhkami"

‘Iurii Masliukov: We are like wolves trapped by a rope with little flags’

It presents several difficulties. Even if the translator is familiar with the song, finding a suitable equivalent of the headline is no easy task. The expression ‘surrounded by flags’ would mean nothing to a reader unfamiliar with the lyrics. The idea of entrapment has to be conveyed. Even then the translation would not be very meaningful. The translator needs to find an equivalent from the British culture to provide the link.

Fairytales provide a fertile ground for intertextuality because most readers have experienced them as children and renewed their acquaintance with them when bringing up their own offspring. Some of the headlines displaying references to fairytales are of interest from different points of view.

The first example is based on several tales in which a hero/ine addresses a hut where a witch, Baba Yaga, lives. This hut on chicken’s legs turns round, usually standing with its door facing away from the weary traveller who then has to coax it to turn with the door towards them so that they can gain entry and ask for shelter, food and advice. In the article Primakov is addressed instead of the hut from the story, suggesting that he ought to support the Serbs and ignore NATO.

К сербам передом, к НАТО задом (14aif99)

K Serbam peredom, k NATO zadom

‘Face Serbs, turn your back on NATO’

In the second example *The Tale of the invisible city of Kitezh* has been reworked into the headline

Сказание о видимом граде Кипеже (37ogon99)

Skazaniie o vidimom grade Kipezhe

‘The tale of the visible city of Kipezh’ (‘The Tale of Bedlam City’)

where the *zhargon* word *kipezh* which means commotion, mayhem or even rebellion (very similar to *bedlam* in English) has been turned into a name.

A song of a very different hue and period is the one paraphrased in the rather ironic headline below from *Izvestiia*. The famous revolutionary song was traditionally sung on the anniversary of the 7th November, and it began with the words: ‘Our steam train flies forth, there is but one stop. We have no other choice....’

Наш паровоз, лети под откос (221 izv99/2a)
Nash parovoz, leti pod okos
‘Our steam train, rush down the slope’

Different meanings can be read into this variation of the original. The train is probably a metaphor for Russia, in which case ‘pod okos’ is not a specific slope or an embankment, but rather a metaphoric representation of an impending catastrophe. However, the use of the imperative might even be associated with the expression ‘go to hell’. Thus one way of translating the headline might be: ‘Russia hurtles towards hell’.

Eternal misery or pride to serve the motherland are the two diametrically opposed readings that can be found in the next headline

Родина послала (205 izv99/)
Rodina poslala
‘Motherland sent [them] ...’

The idea of duty is one, serving the motherland without question, without complaint. This is a sentiment found in Soviet war films and novels. But there is also the notion of sending someone to hell, damning them to eternal misery, or leaving them out in the cold. In view of the sorry state of the Russian army in the late 1990s (Herspring, 2005:185 ff.) the latter reading is more likely but the irony of the juxtaposition of the two readings is inescapable.

Some headlines are much more light-hearted as can be seen in the one below:

Лауреат «шнобелевской» премии (17aif99/)
Laureat ‘shnobelevskoi’ premii
‘Winner of the “Schnozzle” prize’

The word *Nobel* is replaced by a *zhargon* word for nose, something like schnozzle, or conk or even snout. Unfortunately, ‘“Schnozzle” prize winner’ does not have quite the same ring to it as the Russian phrase. Another element that is

missing in English is rhyme: *Shnobelevskaia premiia* rhymes with *Nobelevskaia premiia*, the Russian version of Nobel prize,

The last example also contains a complex set of connotations:

Суворовец Иванов в высотке на Смоленской (3aif99)

Suvorovets Ivanov v vysotke na Smolenskoj

‘Suvorov academy graduate Ivanov in the tall building on Smolenskaia’

Suvorovets denotes a graduate of the elite Suvorov military academy for officers. Men admitted to it are often second or even third generation military men, and in the past that meant that they were trusted by the communist party. This is an important element to remember as it provides a covert evaluation of the newly appointed minister. The standard translation of *vysotka* is a watchtower, but in colloquial Russian the word is used to refer to several huge buildings in Moscow, built during the Stalin era, one of which now houses the Ministry of foreign affairs. *Smolenskaia* is linked in many minds with a song by Bulat Okudzhava, *Along the Smolenskaia Road*. Readers’ minds can conjure a variety of readings about the new man in the ministry.

Although the overall numbers of Czech intertextual headlines are fairly small, they provide a hook to tempt readers to the publications by the variety of referents. Various trends have been noted: biblical references which were totally absent from the 1979 material began to appear in both the 1989 and 1999 headlines. That would imply that despite the state’s attempts to eliminate religious references from language, they were always there, merely dormant as far as public language was concerned and ready to re-surface when more favourable situation developed. The use of slogans declined and an increased number of quotations and the growing number of references to popular culture were found. Examples from the Czech corpus are discussed next.

The headlines illustrate two of the sources of intertextuality in the Czech data but also eliteness, metaphors, and borrowings. The first headline combines sporting terminology (*rozhodčí* = referee, *do autu* = out of play) with a reference to fairytales (*zubatá* = grim reaper - intertextuality) and it is a very unusual metaphor, too. The action described in the article takes place in a city street, not

on a football field. The referee's name is given part-way through the text only, as the introductory paragraphs are told in the first person. The referee is a news actor. The occupational label attracts sports enthusiasts but the striking image works even for people who are not interested in sport.

Rozhodčí poslal zubatou do autu (182rp99/2b)
'Referee sent the grim reaper out of play'

The second headline is an example of a quotation that was popular in the 1999 sample. The news actor whose opinion is cited provides the eliteness which gives the quotation its importance and weight. *Fairplay* is a borrowing and *hrajte fairplay* (= play fairly) is a sporting phrase used here in a media/political discourse.

Švédský premiér Goran Persson řekl Právu:
Hrajte fairplay k Bruselu i vůči vlastní veřejnosti (231rp99/2a)
'Swedish premier Goran Persson said to Pravo [correspondent]:
Play fair with Brussels and your own public'

As the examples show, though used sparingly, intertextuality by itself or combined with other strategies offers unusual and noticeable headlines.

The Soviet/Russian publications used intertextuality far more frequently than the Czechoslovak/Czech ones. The sources which were used were similar in both sets of publications, too, except no references were found in the Czech corpus to songs, television programmes or to history. Some of the sources, e.g. literature, were used in all three years studied, others, such as songs or references to television programmes only occurred in 1999.

It is unclear why *Rudé právo* made so little use of intertextuality. Perhaps as the organ of the Communist party no need was felt for either entertaining the readers or providing an authority to support the information the newspaper was imparting. The majority of quotations and allusions were made in 1999, where the usefulness of this feature was recognised as helping to maintain the readership or even increase brand loyalty which is essential for the newspaper's survival.

7.6 Typolocial strategies –number of words and decks

The greater number of words per headline fits in with the change from topic headline to summary headline, which has taken place over the period. The reason for this change is probably due to the growing significance of the headline. According to different researchers, (e.g. Bartošek, 1997, :62) readers are five times more likely to be interested in the headline than in the article and so the journalists strive to put more information in the headline. Another tendency is to shorten the main text of the article (ibid.) and shift more information into the headline. It is likely that with longer main headlines there was less need for explanations offered in other decks.

There were few trends between the publications that were broadly in line with one another: both dailies reduced the number of decks displaying the main headlines with both a strapline and a subhead or with a strapline only and increased the number of headlines with subheads only. In 1999 about ¾ of their headlines were single ones. The weeklies used only single headlines in 1979 but diverged from one another over the following two years studied. *AiF* introduced a few subheads in 1989 and 1999 (2.8% and 2.1% respectively), *Ogonek* also introduces a small number of subheads in 1989, increased their number almost ten times in 1999 and it offered almost half of its headlines either with both subhead and strapline or with a strapline so reducing the number of single headlines to 40.7%. Thus each publication was striving to find the best way to attract readers' attention to it, increasing the number of words in the main headline and varying headline typography.

7.7 Summary

The study aimed to analyse the language (and in a small way the typology) of Russian and Czech front page headlines over a period of time in four publications. In very broad and general terms the two sets of publications have followed similar paths. Two main trends were noted. Characteristic of the first trend were comparatively small changes occurring between 1979 and 1989 with much greater

changes taking place in in the decade to 1999. The second trend exhibited a different pattern: the peak in the use of a given strategy came in 1989, and subsided in 1999.

Concerning mutually exclusive strategies, both trends have been noted in the corpus. The topic-naming headlines were progressively replaced by summarising headlines, and this was reflected in the typology. Summarising headlines are generally longer than topic-naming ones, thus their increase in 1999 reflected the increase in the number of words as compared to the previous two years analysed in the study.

The second trend affected the use of erotetic headlines. These headlines were not used at all in the studied publications in 1979 (except for *AiF* which used them in 0.74% cases) but became quite popular in 1989. They retained their popularity with the weeklies in 1999 but not the dailies, in which they again all but disappeared.

When syntactic strategies were analysed the first trend was observed (greater changes in 1999). The number of block headlines dropped, there were more complex sentences and the use of verbs with lexical meaning increased. All these variations supported the changes in the use of mutually exclusive strategies.

The analysis of stylistic strategies revealed a rift between the Czech and Russian publications. *Rudé právo/Právo* used stylistic strategies much less frequently than the Soviet/Russian publications. However, the general trends again tended to be followed by all the publications.

The language features that have been loosely gathered under the heading 'language play' were generally exploited more frequently in 1999 than in the other two years, with the exception of non-standard or emphatic word order, which peaked in 1979 and dropped in the subsequent years. Rhetorical figures displayed a different pattern; their use fell in 1989 and then rose in 1999.

An overall trend was noted also in the area of language formality. All the studied publications reduced the bookish or highly formal vocabulary, albeit by a small percentage, and as time went on introduced informal, in some cases even colloquial and *zhargon* expressions. *Rudé právo/Právo* appeared to be the least flexible of all of them, retaining a larger percentage of bookish expressions and not including any colloquial or *zhargon* ones.

Evaluation in headlines is an important stylistic feature. The material collected shows that the number of non-evaluative headlines peaks in 1989 and the percentage of evaluatively negative headlines is the lowest in 1989, however, the overall trend (from 1979 to 1999) is for more evaluation and negative evaluation in particular,

The largest number of abbreviation was found in the 1989 material although the overall trend is downward, even though just slightly so, from 1979 to 1999. Quite significant is the growth of blends in the headlines, which is seen as a feature of less formal speech.

Content strategies that were considered in the study concentrated on news/social actors, their gender, occupation, nationality, and their evaluation within the headline. Also included were subjects covered in the headlines, and intertextuality.

An overall increase of headlines with news/social actors was noted in the corpus from 16.5% in 1979 to 49.7% in 1999 for the affectors and from 14.5% in 1979 to 27.6% in 1999 for the affecteds. The number of affectors exceeded that of the affecteds. There was a greater number of male actors than female actors and in 1999 there were more affectors than affecteds for the female actors. Occupations given for males were more varied than those given for females and males' occupations were given more frequently than females' occupations. Nationality was offered in only a small number of cases.

Regarding evaluation of news/social actors, the tendency was to evaluate women more than men and positive evaluation of both genders was greater than negative

evaluation in both 1979 and 1989. However, in 1999 the situation changed. Overt evaluation of men exceeded that of women and there were more negatively evaluative headlines for both genders than positively evaluative. The positive evaluation of women occurred in 4.2% of headlines in 1999 whereas the negative evaluation of women in that year was 8.3%. Regarding evaluation of men the percentages were 5.9% for positively evaluative headlines and 8.2% for negatively evaluative headlines, thus women were evaluated negatively more than men.

As far as subjects introduced in the headlines are concerned, the changes again affected both Czech and Russian publications. Some topics disappeared altogether (e.g. agriculture), others came in, reflecting the developments in the respective countries and in the world (arms reduction, terrorism, the war in the Balkans etc.). The range of subjects became broader, including sport (previously confined to inside or back pages) human interest stories, bizarre events etc. as well as previously taboo topics (e.g. prostitution).

Intertextuality as the last of the analysed content categories was exploited by the different, though predominantly Soviet/Russian publications, throughout the period. The number of headlines with intertextuality increased between 1979 and 1999 and the sources that were exploited for this purpose were augmented by elements from popular culture (such as TV and songs).

It is possible to speculate that the observed changes were caused by several factors. Perhaps the main one of these was the transformation of the social system. This had a major impact on several fronts. The change from socialist to capitalist means of production, loss of state subsidies, change of purpose, the technological changes in production, the opening of the countries (at different levels, of course) to methods and fashions practised in the west forced the different publications to change their priorities.

As the literature review revealed, the uppermost need was economic, the need to survive in the new climate, and therefore the need to sell the publication. (There

were naturally additional aspects, rich patrons whose view was to be promoted, advertisers, whose opinions mattered. Nevertheless, these aspects too required high sales.) Thus the persuasive and/or educational element became secondary to capturing the readers. To this end various strategies were employed, from entertainment, amusement, intrigue, to the use of the language of the reader.

In summary, it would seem that the main impetus was the changed role of the publications. The political-educational purpose was replaced by commercial needs and that in turn led to other modifications. There were changes in the mutually exclusive strategies, with summarising headlines replacing the topic-naming ones and some strategies disappearing almost entirely. These changes were paralleled by changes in syntactic strategies, sentence forms and sentence complexity as well as typological changes. The use of rhetorical figures grew slightly over the period, while the language became somewhat less formal. There were changes in evaluation, too. Overall, the number of evaluative headlines declined slightly but there was a slight increase in headlines with negative rather than positive evaluation, and quite an increase in evaluatively ambiguous headlines was also observed.

Headlines with news actors became very popular by 1999. Generic actors were increasingly replaced by named individuals and organisations also appeared more frequently. As regards the gender of news actors, males were the preferred category throughout the whole period of study but a small percentage of females made their way into the front page headlines, too, towards the end of the studied period. A considerable shift of news actors' occupations was noted over the years. As far as evaluation of news actors was concerned, the tendency was from only positive towards ambiguous or negative evaluation, and for women to be evaluated more often than men.

Based on the evidence provided it can be said that there have been considerable changes in the front pages of all the publications studied and these changes seem to be propelled not just by natural language development but specifically by changes which the whole society was undergoing.

8.0 Conclusion

The final chapter is divided into five parts. The research aims are revisited in section 8.1 and the research process is reviewed in section 8.2. Evaluation of the investigatory method can be found in section 8.3. Recommendations for further studies are outlined in section 8.4 and concluding remarks are offered in section 8.5.

8.1 The research aims revisited

The research aimed to analyse the language of Russian and Czech headlines over a period of time, to evaluate any changes that may have occurred, and to speculate on any potential causes of these changes. The investigation focused mainly on textual and cognitive functions of headlines and on the linguistic means through which these functions were realised. It examined the language and content strategies used by headline writers and plotted changes over time and in the two languages.

The distinctiveness of the study rests in the examination of front page headlines and in the diachronic study across the two languages. This increases our understanding of headline functions and also of the influence of and interplay between language, society and culture.

8.2 Research process

The first part of literature review provided the background for the research: the key concepts such as objectivity, bias, freedom etc., against which the headlines in the socialist and post-socialist publications selected for this study, were examined. It also revealed that the focus of headline writers had changed over time; the educational (sometimes seen as agitating or propagandist) and informative functions became less important than the entertaining and/or *reklamnaia* (advertising or publicising) function. The second part of literature review offered

an opportunity to consider existing research on the language of the printed media in general and the language of Russian and Czech headlines in particular, thus informing the coding schedule and the selection of strategies.

Although the study was concerned with Russian and Czech headlines it was extremely helpful to review works written about other (predominantly English) headlines and to study western literature on (mainly) English printed media. It informed the research in many different ways, providing useful comparisons and extending the number of criteria that could be employed in the study. It also became apparent that some of the more recent Russian and Czech articles and books draw very heavily on original English sources.

The many texts written in Russian and to a lesser degree in Czech made up for the paucity of material on Russian and Czech headlines in English. Thus the western texts together with the Slavonic texts located over time formed a richer and broader foundation and helped to create a more solid base for this, and it is hoped future research, too.

Accessing the material turned out to be quite challenging as no one library in Britain appeared to have all the publications from which the material was to be drawn or the Russian and Czech texts needed for the literature review.

The early issues of *AiF* were the most difficult to get hold of. The Lenin Library in Moscow has them but not in the main building in the city. They are housed in a different building in Khimki, on the outskirts, and when the researcher was in Moscow, that building was not open. Fortunately it was possible to consult them later in Voronezh during a conference attendance.

The Interlibrary Loan Scheme was generally very helpful in getting hold of books and journal articles, although some of them took months to arrive and some did not arrive at all. They were not helpful when the actual front pages were required.

Research methodology was presented in Chapter 4, offering explanations for the selection of publications and the codification of headlines. Many categories were considered and eventually a selection was made that was judged to correspond best to the aims of the study. It was important to concentrate on fewer categories in order to do them justice and it also reduced the risk of not completing the study within the time limit.

Chapters 5 and 6 contain the findings regarding Russian and Czech headlines respectively. Three different groups of strategies were examined - mutually exclusive strategies (the headline infrastructure), non-exclusive language strategies, such as sentence structure, language formality and stylistic features of the headlines and finally non-exclusive content strategies e.g. the presence of news/social actors and intertextuality.

Software programs can greatly aid or hinder one's work, whether they are statistical or word-processing packages. Getting reliable information about them early on serves the purposes of the project better. One of the problems that hindered the work was the inability of some of the software to work with the Cyrillic alphabet.

8.3 Evaluation of investigatory methods

It would have been helpful to get a group of native speakers to provide input when analysing categories such as evaluation or intertextuality. This however was not possible. Therefore these categories were classified by the researcher only, with the help of the information gleaned from friends, various publications (e.g. dictionaries) and the Internet. Every effort was made to provide accurate information.

Many topics would have benefited from more detailed examination. An example of such examination can be found in Chapter 5, dealing with the headlines with

military subject matter. However, with so many topics this would have become tedious and difficult to accomplish within the time available.

The statistical package was fairly helpful in providing quantitative information although it was not ideal for analysing language features. The tables are not easy to set up and tend to be quite cumbersome. They also do not transfer well into other environments such as Microsoft Word. However, the fact that three different variables can be compared is very useful.

8.4 Research outcomes

The diachronic study of the headlines in the two languages led to a number of outcomes. When the mutually exclusive strategies were compared the overall trend in both Russian and Czech was from shorter topic-naming headlines in 1979 to longer summarising headlines in 1999. This was supported by the grammatical structure (syntax) of the headlines as well as the word count. Erotetic headlines on the other hand were most frequent in 1989. These strategy changes offered readers cognitive models for the reality of the different periods.

The various stylistic strategies were used less frequently in the Czech than the Russian publications, but in both languages they were more frequent in the 1999 corpus than in the earlier years. Headline writers relied on tried sources (references to literature and history) throughout the period but included popular culture in 1999. This indicates that a greater effort was made to identify with the readers, to reach them through their experience and in that way to broaden the readership base. The formality of the headline language changed, too. Most of the bookish and very formal vocabulary was replaced by neutral language, and a small number of headlines with informal and colloquial lexis appeared. This was more noticeable in the Russian publications. The Czech newspaper *Právo* dropped the bookish forms but overall retained the neutral register even in 1999. The typical Soviet expressions disappeared from the Russian headlines, too. Rather unexpected was the absence of borrowings from Russian in the Czech headlines. Of course, the party terminology was used (e.g. *sovět*) in 1979 and 1989 but was

dropped when the Soviet Union collapsed. In 1999 both Czech and Russian headlines freely borrowed English words (*killery, lobbovat, gay*). This has been causing concern among Russian predominantly amateur linguists and steps are being taken to stop the trend and ‘purge’ the language of these lexical items.

Many changes occurred in the content strategies. Personalisation of headlines became very popular in 1999, although traces were already noticeable in 1989. News actors were more frequently affectors than affecteds and they were evaluated far more frequently in 1999 than in 1989. The evaluation trend also changed from broadly positive in 1979, to more neutral in 1989, to broadly negative in 1999. There was an almost total absence of women in the headlines in 1979. The situation changed somewhat in 1989 and 1999, although the percentages were far from balanced between male and female actors present in the headlines, and women were represented in very few professions. The news concerning them tended to be human interest stories rather than hard news.

Subject matter changed also, and again the change was more pronounced between 1989 and 1999 rather than 1979 and 1989. Political rhetoric and headlines on agricultural and industrial themes that were found in 1979 and 1989 all but disappeared from the front pages in 1999 and were replaced by economy, finance, terrorism and crime. There was also more discussion of domestic political issues.

Summarising the findings it is possible to say that the language and content of Russian and Czech headlines has changed, and that the changes were comparatively small between 1979 and 1989 but rather extensive between 1989 and 1999. The observed changes were undoubtedly caused by several factors. Perhaps the main one of these was the transformation of the social system. This had a major impact on several fronts as detailed in chapter 7. It is therefore feasible to speculate that at a time of major political upheavals language change occurs more swiftly than at times of political calm.

8.5 Recommendations for further research

It is hoped that the findings in this study will form a starting point for further research, especially concerning evaluation in headlines, gender, (generic ‘he’, occupational labels etc.) and intertextuality both in Russian and Czech headlines, and perhaps extending to the texts of the articles. A comparison of English and Russian/Czech headlines with *affectors* and *affecteds* could also be of value to see if cultural perceptions are similar across different cultures and/or changing with time in different societies. As only one Czech publication was selected for a more detailed study and as a contrast for the Russian publications, further research dealing with several other Czech publications could show whether the trends noted in *Rudé právo* can be seen elsewhere, e.g. the use of metaphors and intertextuality, which were employed much less in the Czech publication than in the Russian ones. The extent of language borrowing in Czech and the speed with which borrowed words fit the native grammatical patterns might also extend our knowledge of language processes. Further research that would examine headline language in other societies which have undergone similar upheavals as the societies in this study might be useful.

Although some studies have already appeared (Lunde and Roesen, 2006) dealing with the alarm, expressed mainly by laymen who believe that foreign, generally English words pose a threat to and corrupt the Russian language, further research into the language of the media is needed to see whether this is having any impact on the printed media.

8.6 Summary

The study demonstrated that Russian and Czech headlines have indeed changed over the period, and the processes appeared to be progressing faster in the 1990s than in the 1980s. The findings revealed a variety of changes both in the structure of the headlines, in the syntax and stylistics and in the content.

Since journals and newspapers can provide an easily accessible way to get up-to-date information about political but also social and cultural changes, it is important that readers, teachers and learners are aware of the different elements that make up headlines both in order to enhance their knowledge but also their understanding and their enjoyment of the language.

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Appendix 1 Coding of Czech headlines

In all there were ten headlines on the front page in issue No. 8. The headline *Nejlepší odpovědi činy* (eventually assigned the code 8rp79/1a) was given the greatest prominence by 50% of respondents, but 26.7% and 13.3% of respondents assigned it to second and lower levels respectively. The headline *Hlavní je pomoc SHR* (final code 8rp79/1b) was seen as the 2nd and 3rd most prominent place by 36.7% and 40.0% respondents respectively, and 16.7% as the most prominent one. The headline *Vítězství spravedlivé věci* (final code 8rp79/2a) was classified as 3rd (33.3%) or 4th (36.7%) most prominent and as second most prominent by 6.7% of respondents. The headline *65 000 mrtvých a raněných* (final code 8rp79/3a) was placed as the 5th most prominent by 50% of respondents and by 16.7% as the 4th one. Two headlines were placed more or less equally in positions 6th and 7th, and the remaining three headlines were variously assigned to positions 8, 9 and 10.

The same pattern was repeated with headlines on the other front pages that the respondents were given. This broadly agreed with the codification arrived at by the researcher.

Appendix 2 – categories (variables) used for SPSS analysis:

1.

Headcode:

headline code – e.g. 1aif79/1a
2.

Journal:

name of the publication (newspaper, magazine)

Argumenty I faktyaif1

Ogonekogon2

Izvestiiaizv3

Rudé právo/ Právorp4
3.

Year:

year of publication

19791

19892

19993
4.

Headline

headline prominence on the page:

Main1

Secondary2

Tertiary3

Quarternary4
5.

Deck:

number of decks in the headline

One1

Subhead only2

Other (e.g. strapline or subhead and strapline) 3
6.

Wordnos:

number of words in the main or only headline

alldecks

number of words in all the decks belonging together

otherdek

number of words in sur/subheads only

7.

Strategy

Topic clear/obvious1

Topic obscure2

Summary clear/obvious3

Summary obscure4

Erotetic pronoun5

Erotetic –li6

Erotetic intonation7

and

(includes questions with *ili*, *razve neuzheli*)

Erotetic other8

(includes subordinate wh-clauses where the

main clause is absent)

Exclamation9

(includes slogans, vocatives)
- 3

	Wishing <i>prazdnikom,</i> <i>year</i>)	10	(wishes and congratulations: <i>S</i> <i>Pust' ... , Happy new</i>
	Other	12	(e.g. imperatives, thanks etc.)
	Other adverbial	13	
8.	<u>Actplace</u>		Which headline is affector/affected placed in
	Main head	1	
	Other head	2	
	Both	3	
	None	99	
9.	<u>News actors affectors</u>		(actors, doers, benefactors...)
	Named individual(s)	1	e.g. Iurii Skuratov
	Generic/unnamed	2	teacher, the Chinese leader
	Organisation(s)	3	CIA, TU, Peking, the Soviet (no gender); each as one actor;
	music groups, parties, brigade, armada, firms, businesses		
	Nation(s), peoples	4	peoples of Africa, Russians, 'narod' (gender mixed), lide, verejnost
	Country/ state	5	the USSR (no gender) NOT
	continents, the		West, the East
	Other	6	vocatives, mixed groups
	None	99	
10	<u>News actors affecteds</u>		(beneficiaries, patients, victims...)
	Named individual(s)	1	e.g. Iurii Skuratov
	Generic/unnamed	2	teacher, the Chinese leader
	Organisation(s)	3	CIA, TU, Peking, the Soviet (no gender); each as one actor,
	music groups, brigada		
	Nation(s), peoples	4	peoples of Africa, Russians (gender mixed)
	Country/ state	5	the USSR, Kazakhstan (no gender)
	NOT		continents, the west, the east
	Other	6	(something of somebody e.g. Clinton - only named
	negotiations of individuals, not orgs.		
	None	99	
11.	<u>Actorno</u>		number of actors in the headline
	One (specific no.)	1	Skuratov, a teacher, the USSR, TU
	Two or more (specific number)	2	Brezhnev and Kosygin; France and Russia;
	Unspecified number	3	teachers, many countries..., USSR and the socialist countries

Other	4	when none above fits (e.g. head, 51 etc.)
None	99	

12. Gender

Female adult	1	women only
Male adult	2	men only
Female child	3	girls only
Male child	4	boys only
F and M adults mentioned)	5	women and men (explicitly
F and M children	6	girls and boys (explicitly mentioned)
Unclear adult	7	teacher, teachers, imperialists
Unclear child	8	child, schoolchildren
Mixed all (in the text <i>mixed all</i> is shown as [F/M] adult/child)	9	peoples of Africa, adults and children
Unknown	10	twins, telepaths
None	99	when none, or when organisations, and states

(*Unclear* in the text is usually replaced by *unspecified*!)

13.	<u>Job</u>	actor's jobs:	
	Unknown	1	deputies in 1979, 1989
	Politics/ govt - domestic	2	Congress of people's deputies
	Politics/ govt – foreign	21	
	Sciences (natural)	3	cosmonauts
	Sciences (humanities)	4	
	Workers	5	
	Unemployed	6	
	Tourists/guests	7	
	Crime/terrorism	8	
	Law	9	
	Finance /economy/industry	10	
	Journalism, media	11	
	Artist/performing/visual	12	also photographer, musician, painter, sculptor, actor, theatre or TV
			personality
	Writer/poet/composer	13	
	Sportsperson	14	
	Religious	15	
	Military/police/secret police spies	16	customs officers, prison officers,
	Trade unionist/s	17	
	Varied (states, nations) with diff <i>chelovek</i>	18	when 2 affectors/eds in same head jobs, words like
	Other (actor/writer)	19	one person with diff jobs

	Farmer /agriculture	20	
	None	99	also children – unless given
14.	<u>Nationality</u>		
	Russian	1	Russian explicitly in the headline,
	Russian		
	Soviet	2	president
	Soviet		Soviet explicitly in the headline,
	Other	3	general secretaries
	Not given	4	Chinese, Palestinian etc.
	R/S + other	5	Dossier on schoolchildren
	Assumed Russian	6	Russian/Soviet + another/others
	Czech	7	known to be but not explicitly noted
	CSSR	8	
	CSSR+other	9	
	Czech+other	10	
	Assumed CR /CSSR	11	
	None	99	
15.	<u>Evaluate</u>		or evaluative headline
	Non-evaluative	1	
	Evaluative positive	2	
	Evaluative negative	3	
	Other	4	Both positive and negative or either is possible
	Implicitly negative	5	e.g. western in 1979, and in context
	Implicitly positive	6	e.g. socialist in 1979, and in context
16.	<u>Referto</u>		Evaluation refers to one of the realities:
	Explicit Soviet	1	
	Explicit Russian	2	
	Explicit Western	3	Western Europe, USA
	Explicit socialist	4	Comecon, Cuba, GDR etc.
	Explicit Chinese	5	
	Other		
	Unknown/unstated	7	
	Mixed	8	the USSR and socialist countries, The USSR and the West
	Implicit socialist	9	
	Implicit Western	10	The world of <i>capital</i>
	Implied Russian	11	known to be Russian but not stated
	CSSR	12	
	Czech	13	
	Implied CR/CSSR	14	known to be CR/CSSR but not stated
	None	99	

17. Intertextuality

Sayings /idioms	1	
Literature	2	included the Bible (402)
TV	3	
Other	4	
Slogan	5	
Fairy tale	6	
Films	7	
Songs	8	
History	9	
Quoting	10	
None	99	

18. Wordplay

Polysemy	1	
Homonyms	2	
Repetition of the same word	3	
Unusual/unexpected word order	4	
Contrast	5	
Other	6	includes emphasis, (e.g.669),
Superlative	7	
Incrustations	8	Iron Lady
None	99	

19. Rhetoric – figures of speech:

Metaphor	1	
Simile	2	
Hyperbole	3	
Synecdoche	4	part of a whole (head of cattle)
Metonymy	5	relationship (Peking=Chinese govt) (ploughing the waves)
Irony	6	
Personification	7	
Figurative use	8	
Rhetorical question	9	
Exclamation	10	
Other	11	includes euphemism 1274
Several	12	
Parallelism	13	
None	99	

20. Forms - language forms

Statement	1	
Question	2	
Directive	3	command , appeals
Exclamation	4	
Wish	5	
Other	6	

21.	<u>Wholeness(s)</u>	(completeness of the sentence, ellipsis)
	Complete sentence	1
	Incomplete sentence	2

22.	<u>Complexity of the sentence</u>	
	Simple	1 A
	Co-ordinate complex	2 A + A
	Subordinate complex	3 A + B
	Block	4 e.g. noun phrase, participle, adverb

23.	<u>Verbal categories</u>	used loosely to look at the form of the verb
	Active – is/are/isn't	1
	Active – lexical verb	2
	Reflexive particle	3
	Impersonal 3 rd plural no pronoun (passive idea)	4
	Passive participle	5
	Gerund	6
	Infinitive	7
	'By' – conditional/subjunctive	8
	Other	9(ambiguous, e.g. tanki ... stroiat)
	Participle	10
	None	99

24.	<u>Formalit</u>	formality of the style
	Neutral	1
	Informal	2 razgovornyi
	Colloquial	3 prostorechie
	High, bookish	4 also poetical
	Other	5 regional, ungrammatical
	Zhargon	6 baksy

24.	<u>Abbrevia(tions)</u>	
	Absent	1
	Present	2

25.	<u>Lexfield</u>	<u>lexical field, topic</u>
	Political rhetoric	1
	Politics – domestic	2
	Politics - international	3
	Elections	4
	Economy/ finance	5 advertising,
	Law and judiciary	6
	Crime and prison	7
	Military	8 includes police, navy, airforce
	Terrorism non-Caucasu	9
	Russian secret service	10
	Non-R secret service	11

Borders and customs	12	
War in the Balkans	13	
Caucasus	14	terrorism, politics etc.
Sport	15	
High arts	16	literature, theatre, classical music, painting, sculpture,
Popular arts	17	TV, photography, popular music, film
Education	18	
Church/God/religion	19	
Nationalism/ethnicity	20	
Science and technology	21	
Feelings / human angle	22	love, fear, relationships
Space / universe	23	cosmic exploration (cosmonauts)
Future	24	
Health	25	
Environment/climate/weather	26	
Disasters	27	(natural and man-made)
Leisure / travel / holidays	28	Fashion
Trade unions	29	
Mass media / censorship	30	
Young people, children	31	
Old people / pensions	32	
Property / Accommodation	33	
Transport	34	postworkers, railways etc.
History	35	
Bizarre stories	36	
Ambiguous /unclear	37	when 2 or more fields in here (e.g. disarmament and the mass media)
Other	38	sympathy, congratulations, holidays, awards, prizes
Agriculture	39	fishing, forestry
Industry	40	natural resources, construction, mining
Prostitution/pornography	41	

Appendices – Tables

Year of publication		Language form				Total	
		statement	question	imperative	exclamation	wishes	
1979	With mutually exclusive strategies	Count	0	0	0	0	478
		% within merged erotic	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	0	0	1	0	143
		% within merged erotic	.0%	.0%	.7%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	0	0	1	0	166
		% within merged erotic	.0%	.0%	.6%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	0	0	0	0	24
		% within merged erotic	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	3	0	0	0	3
		% within merged erotic	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	0	0	3	0	27
		% within merged erotic	.0%	.0%	11.1%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	0	0	0	1	21
		% within merged erotic	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.8%	100.0%
		Count	0	1	0	0	28
		% within merged erotic	.0%	3.6%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	0	0	0	0	3
		% within merged erotic	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Total	883	3	1	5	1	893

Table A.5.1: Mutually exclusive strategies x language form x year of publication (Russian corpus)

1989	With mutually exclusive strategies	topic clear	% within With merged erotic	98.9%	.3%	.1%	.6%	.1%	100.0%
			Count	521	0	1	0	0	522
			% within With merged erotic	99.8%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		topic obscure	Count	144	1	0	0	0	145
			% within With merged erotic	99.3%	.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		summary clear	Count	206	1	3	0	0	210
			% within With merged erotic	98.1%	.5%	1.4%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		summary obscure	Count	29	0	0	0	0	29
			% within With merged erotic	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		erotic	Count	7	79	1	0	0	87
			% within With merged erotic	8.0%	90.8%	1.1%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		exclamation	Count	4	0	6	5	0	15
			% within With merged erotic	26.7%	.0%	40.0%	33.3%	.0%	100.0%
		wish	Count	5	0	1	0	2	8
			% within With merged erotic	62.5%	.0%	12.5%	.0%	25.0%	100.0%
		other	Count	21	0	21	0	0	42
			% within With merged erotic	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		other adverbial	Count	15	0	0	0	0	15
			% within With merged erotic	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	952	81	33	5	2	1073

Table A.5.1: Mutually exclusive strategies x language form x year of publication (Russian corpus)

		% within With merged eroticetic		88.7%	7.5%	3.1%	.5%	.2%	100.0%
1999	With mutually exclusive strategies	topic clear	Count	283	0	0	1	0	284
			% within With merged eroticetic	99.6%	.0%	.0%	.4%	.0%	100.0%
		topic obscure	Count	139	0	1	0	0	140
			% within With merged eroticetic	99.3%	.0%	.7%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		summary clear	Count	569	5	4	2	0	580
			% within With merged eroticetic	98.1%	.9%	.7%	.3%	.0%	100.0%
		summary obscure	Count	58	1	1	1	0	61
			% within With merged eroticetic	95.1%	1.6%	1.6%	1.6%	.0%	100.0%
		eroticetic	Count	15	184	0	0	0	199
			% within With merged eroticetic	7.5%	92.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		exclamation	Count	3	0	6	6	0	15
			% within With merged eroticetic	20.0%	.0%	40.0%	40.0%	.0%	100.0%
		wish	Count	3	0	0	1	3	7
			% within With merged eroticetic	42.9%	.0%	.0%	14.3%	42.9%	100.0%
		other	Count	8	0	18	0	0	26
			% within With merged eroticetic	30.8%	.0%	69.2%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		other adverbial	Count	1	0	0	0	0	1
			% within With merged eroticetic	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	1079	190	30	11	3	1313
			% within With merged eroticetic	82.2%	14.5%	2.3%	.8%	.2%	100.0%

Table A.5.1: Mutually exclusive strategies x language form x year of publication (Russian corpus)

Year of publication				Complexity of sentences				Total
				simple	co-ordinate complex	sub-ordinate complex	block	
1979	With merged erotetic	topic clear	Count	24	0	10	444	478
			% within With merged erotetic	5.0%	.0%	2.1%	92.9%	100.0%
		topic obscure	Count	5	0	2	136	143
			% within With merged erotetic	3.5%	.0%	1.4%	95.1%	100.0%
		summary clear	Count	142	2	3	19	166
			% within With merged erotetic	85.5%	1.2%	1.8%	11.4%	100.0%
		summary obscure	Count	21	0	2	1	24
			% within With merged erotetic	87.5%	.0%	8.3%	4.2%	100.0%
		erotetic	Count	1	0	2	0	3
			% within With merged erotetic	33.3%	.0%	66.7%	.0%	100.0%
		exclamation	Count	9	0	0	18	27
			% within With merged erotetic	33.3%	.0%	.0%	66.7%	100.0%
		wish	Count	2	0	0	19	21
			% within With merged erotetic	9.5%	.0%	.0%	90.5%	100.0%
		other	Count	4	0	0	24	28
			% within With merged erotetic	14.3%	.0%	.0%	85.7%	100.0%
		other adverbial	Count	0	0	0	3	3
			% within With merged erotetic	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	208	2	19	664	893
			% within With merged erotetic	23.3%	.2%	2.1%	74.4%	100.0%
1989	With merged erotetic	topic clear	Count	53	0	4	465	522
			% within With merged erotetic	10.2%	.0%	.8%	89.1%	100.0%
		topic obscure	Count	21	1	2	121	145
			% within With merged erotetic	14.5%	.7%	1.4%	83.4%	100.0%
		summary clear	Count	172	8	10	20	210

Table A5.2: Mutually exclusive strategies x Complexity of sentences x Year of publication

			% within With merged erotetic	81.9%	3.8%	4.8%	9.5%	100.0%
		summary obscure	Count	23	3	1	2	29
			% within With merged erotetic	79.3%	10.3%	3.4%	6.9%	100.0%
		erotetic	Count	61	0	24	2	87
			% within With merged erotetic	70.1%	.0%	27.6%	2.3%	100.0%
		exclamation	Count	8	0	0	7	15
			% within With merged erotetic	53.3%	.0%	.0%	46.7%	100.0%
		wish	Count	5	0	0	3	8
			% within With merged erotetic	62.5%	.0%	.0%	37.5%	100.0%
		other	Count	30	1	2	9	42
			% within With merged erotetic	71.4%	2.4%	4.8%	21.4%	100.0%
		other adverbial	Count	1	0	0	14	15
			% within With merged erotetic	6.7%	.0%	.0%	93.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	374	13	43	643	1073
			% within With merged erotetic	34.9%	1.2%	4.0%	59.9%	100.0%
1999	With merged erotetic	topic clear	Count	29	0	8	247	284
			% within With merged erotetic	10.2%	.0%	2.8%	87.0%	100.0%
		topic obscure	Count	17	0	1	122	140
			% within With merged erotetic	12.1%	.0%	.7%	87.1%	100.0%
		summary clear	Count	524	16	28	12	580
			% within With merged erotetic	90.3%	2.8%	4.8%	2.1%	100.0%
		summary obscure	Count	54	2	4	1	61
			% within With merged erotetic	88.5%	3.3%	6.6%	1.6%	100.0%
		erotetic	Count	99	0	98	2	199
			% within With merged erotetic	49.7%	.0%	49.2%	1.0%	100.0%
		exclamation	Count	13	0	0	2	15
			% within With merged	86.7%	.0%	.0%	13.3%	100.0%

Table A5.2: Mutually exclusive strategies x Complexity of sentences x Year of publication

			erotetic					
		wish	Count	6	0	1	0	7
			% within With merged erotetic	85.7%	.0%	14.3%	.0%	100.0%
		other	Count	19	3	4	0	26
			% within With merged erotetic	73.1%	11.5%	15.4%	.0%	100.0%
		other adverbial	Count	0	0	0	1	1
			% within With merged erotetic	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	761	21	144	387	1313
			% within With merged erotetic	58.0%	1.6%	11.0%	29.5%	100.0%

Table A5.2: Mutually exclusive strategies x Complexity of sentences x Year of publication

Name of publication				Year of publication			Total
				1979	1989	1999	
aif	Rhetorical figures of speech	metaphor	Count	24	9	46	79
			% within Year of publication	17.6%	3.8%	7.6%	8.1%
		simile	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	.2%	.1%
		exaggeration (hyperbole)	Count	0	3	4	7
			% within Year of publication	.0%	1.3%	.7%	.7%
		synecdoche	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within Year of publication	.7%	.0%	.0%	.1%
		metonymy	Count	2	0	4	6
			% within Year of publication	1.5%	.0%	.7%	.6%
		irony	Count	4	4	9	17
			% within Year of publication	2.9%	1.7%	1.5%	1.7%
		personification	Count	3	4	14	21
			% within Year of publication	2.2%	1.7%	2.3%	2.1%
		figurative use	Count	5	6	17	28
			% within Year of publication	3.7%	2.5%	2.8%	2.9%
		exclamation	Count	1	0	1	2
			% within Year of publication	.7%	.0%	.2%	.2%
		other	Count	0	3	2	5
			% within Year of publication	.0%	1.3%	.3%	.5%
		parallelism	Count	2	0	0	2
			% within Year of publication	1.5%	.0%	.0%	.2%
		none	Count	94	207	510	811
			% within Year of publication	69.1%	87.7%	83.9%	82.8%
	Total		Count	136	236	608	980

TableA5.3: Rhetorical figures of speech x Year of publication x Name of publication 17

ogon	Rhetorical figures of speech	metaphor	% within Year of publication			
			Count	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			Count	0	16	20
			% within Year of publication	.0%	6.8%	5.5%
		simile	Count	0	1	2
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.4%	.5%
		exaggeration (hyperbole)	Count	0	0	1
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	.3%
		metonymy	Count	0	1	1
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.4%	.3%
		irony	Count	0	1	2
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.4%	.5%
		personification	Count	1	3	5
			% within Year of publication	14.3%	1.3%	1.4%
		figurative use	Count	0	11	14
			% within Year of publication	.0%	4.7%	3.8%
		rhetorical question	Count	0	2	2
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.9%	.5%
		exclamation	Count	0	2	2
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.9%	.5%
		other	Count	0	1	2
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.4%	.5%
		parallelism	Count	0	3	3
			% within Year of publication	.0%	1.3%	.8%
		none	Count	6	193	310
			% within Year of publication	85.7%	82.5%	85.2%
Total			Count	7	234	364
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TableA5.3: Rhetorical figures of speech x Year of publication x Name of publication 18

Rhetorical figures of speech	metaphor	Count	42	12	45	99
	simile	% within Year of publication	5.6%	2.0%	7.7%	5.1%
		Count	0	2	2	4
	exaggeration (hyperbole)	% within Year of publication	.0%	.3%	.3%	.2%
		Count	2	0	1	3
	synecdoche	% within Year of publication	.3%	.0%	.2%	.2%
		Count	1	0	0	1
	metonymy	% within Year of publication	.1%	.0%	.0%	.1%
		Count	2	5	17	24
	irony	% within Year of publication	.3%	.8%	2.9%	1.2%
		Count	0	2	9	11
	personification	% within Year of publication	.0%	.3%	1.5%	.6%
		Count	5	9	3	17
	figurative use	% within Year of publication	.7%	1.5%	.5%	.9%
		Count	13	3	11	27
	exclamation	% within Year of publication	1.7%	.5%	1.9%	1.4%
		Count	1	0	0	1
	other	% within Year of publication	.1%	.0%	.0%	.1%
		Count	1	4	4	9
	parallelism	% within Year of publication	.1%	.7%	.7%	.5%
		Count	0	1	2	3
	none	% within Year of publication	.0%	.2%	.3%	.2%
		Count	683	565	488	1736
Total		% within Year of publication	91.1%	93.7%	83.8%	89.7%
		Count	750	603	582	1935
		% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Count				

			Year of publication			Total
			1979	1989	1999	
Evaluation in headline	non-evaluative	Count	673	840	893	2406
		% within Evaluation in headline	28.0%	34.9%	37.1%	100.0%
		% within Year of publication	75.4%	78.3%	68.0%	73.4%
	evaluative - positive	Count	125	74	60	259
		% within Evaluation in headline	48.3%	28.6%	23.2%	100.0%
		% within Year of publication	14.0%	6.9%	4.6%	7.9%
	evaluative - negative	Count	56	71	177	304
		% within Evaluation in headline	18.4%	23.4%	58.2%	100.0%
		% within Year of publication	6.3%	6.6%	13.5%	9.3%
	other	Count	5	43	89	137
		% within Evaluation in headline	3.6%	31.4%	65.0%	100.0%
		% within Year of publication	.6%	4.0%	6.8%	4.2%
	imp neg ev	Count	7	19	58	84
		% within Evaluation in headline	8.3%	22.6%	69.0%	100.0%
		% within Year of publication	.8%	1.8%	4.4%	2.6%
	imp pos ev	Count	27	26	36	89
		% within Evaluation in headline	30.3%	29.2%	40.4%	100.0%
		% within Year of publication	3.0%	2.4%	2.7%	2.7%
Total		Count	893	1073	1313	3279
		% within Evaluation in headline	27.2%	32.7%	40.0%	100.0%
		% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table A5.4: Evaluation x years, Russian corpus (count and %)
Trend changes from year to year
Total column gives averages across the years.

Name of publication					Year of publication			Total
					1979	1989	1999	
aif	Evaluation in headline	non-evaluative	Count		45	147	362	554
			% within Year of publication		33.1%	62.3%	59.5%	56.5%
		evaluative - positive	Count		24	22	35	81
			% within Year of publication		17.6%	9.3%	5.8%	8.3%
		evaluative - negative	Count		54	44	117	215
			% within Year of publication		39.7%	18.6%	19.2%	21.9%
		other	Count		3	19	55	77
			% within Year of publication		2.2%	8.1%	9.0%	7.9%
		imp neg ev	Count		7	1	24	32
			% within Year of publication		5.1%	.4%	3.9%	3.3%
		imp pos ev	Count		3	3	15	21
			% within Year of publication		2.2%	1.3%	2.5%	2.1%
ogon	Evaluation in headline	non-evaluative	Count		136	236	608	980
			% within Year of publication		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		non-evaluative	Count		7	159	74	240
			% within Year of publication		100.0%	67.9%	60.2%	65.9%
		evaluative - positive	Count		0	19	9	28
			% within Year of publication		.0%	8.1%	7.3%	7.7%
		evaluative - negative	Count		0	14	15	29
			% within Year of publication		.0%	6.0%	12.2%	8.0%
		other	Count		0	14	20	34

izv	Evaluation in headline	non-evaluative	% within Year of publication	0%	6.0%	16.3%	9.3%	
			Count	0	11	4	15	
			% within Year of publication	0%	4.7%	3.3%	4.1%	
			Count	0	17	1	18	
			% within Year of publication	0%	7.3%	.8%	4.9%	
		evaluative - positive	Count	7	234	123	364	
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
			evaluative - negative	Count	621	534	457	1612
				% within Year of publication	82.8%	88.6%	78.5%	83.3%
				Count	101	33	16	150
	other	% within Year of publication		13.5%	5.5%	2.7%	7.8%	
		Count		2	13	45	60	
		% within Year of publication	.3%	2.2%	7.7%	3.1%		
		imp neg ev	Count	2	10	14	26	
			% within Year of publication	.3%	1.7%	2.4%	1.3%	
	imp pos ev		Count	0	7	30	37	
			% within Year of publication	0%	1.2%	5.2%	1.9%	
Count			24	6	20	50		
Total		% within Year of publication	3.2%	1.0%	3.4%	2.6%		
		Count	750	603	582	1935		
	% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%			

		Evaluation in headline						Total
		non-evaluative	evaluative - positive	evaluative - negative	other	imp neg ev	imp pos ev	
Evaluation reference to	expl Soviet	Count	27	3	2	0	3	35
		% within Evaluation reference to						
		% within Evaluation in headline	77.1%	8.6%	5.7%	.0%	8.6%	100.0%
expl Russian		Count	10	18	11	8	10	57
		% within Evaluation reference to						
		% within Evaluation in headline	17.5%	31.6%	19.3%	14.0%	17.5%	100.0%
expl Western		Count	0	12	1	3	1	17
		% within Evaluation reference to						
		% within Evaluation in headline	.0%	70.6%	5.9%	17.6%	5.9%	100.0%
expl socialist		Count	5	2	0	0	0	7
		% within Evaluation reference to						
		% within Evaluation in headline	.0%	3.9%	.7%	3.6%	1.1%	.5%
expl Chinese		Count	1	4	0	0	0	5
		% within Evaluation reference to						
		% within Evaluation in headline	71.4%	28.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
other		Count	14	21	8	6	5	54
		% within Evaluation reference to						
		% within Evaluation in headline	.0%	1.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%

Table A5.6 Evaluation referent x evaluation Russian corpus (count and %)

	% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	25.9%	38.9%	14.8%	11.1%	9.3%	100.0%
	% within Evaluation in headline	.0%	5.4%	6.9%	5.8%	7.1%	5.6%	1.6%
not given	Count	0	154	196	76	38	50	514
	% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	30.0%	38.1%	14.8%	7.4%	9.7%	100.0%
	% within Evaluation in headline	.0%	59.5%	64.5%	55.5%	45.2%	56.2%	15.7%
mixed	Count	0	5	2	5	0	1	13
	% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	38.5%	15.4%	38.5%	.0%	7.7%	100.0%
	% within Evaluation in headline	.0%	1.9%	.7%	3.6%	.0%	1.1%	.4%
impl socialist	Count	0	18	1	4	0	7	30
	% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	60.0%	3.3%	13.3%	.0%	23.3%	100.0%
	% within Evaluation in headline	.0%	6.9%	.3%	2.9%	.0%	7.9%	.9%
impl western	Count	0	1	18	2	6	0	27
	% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	3.7%	66.7%	7.4%	22.2%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Evaluation in headline	.0%	.4%	5.9%	1.5%	7.1%	.0%	.8%
impl Russian	Count	0	24	27	27	23	12	113
	% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	21.2%	23.9%	23.9%	20.4%	10.6%	100.0%
	% within Evaluation in headline	.0%	9.3%	8.9%	19.7%	27.4%	13.5%	3.4%

Table A5.6 Evaluation referent x evaluation Russian corpus (count and %)

	none	Count	2406	0	0	1	0	0	2407
		% within Evaluation reference to	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Evaluation in headline	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.7%	.0%	.0%	73.4%
Total		Count	2406	259	304	137	84	89	3279
		% within Evaluation reference to	73.4%	7.9%	9.3%	4.2%	2.6%	2.7%	100.0%
		% within Evaluation in headline	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Name of publication				Year of publication			Total	
				1979	1989	1999		
aif	Actor placement	main head	Count	50	44	317	411	
			% within Year of publication	36.8%	18.6%	52.1%	41.9%	
		other head	Count	0	4	2	6	
			% within Year of publication	.0%	1.7%	.3%	.6%	
		none	Count	86	188	289	563	
			% within Year of publication	63.2%	79.7%	47.5%	57.4%	
	Total		Count	136	236	608	980	
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	ogon	Actor placement	main head	Count	3	75	60	138
				% within Year of publication	42.9%	32.1%	48.8%	37.9%
other head			Count	0	1	21	22	
		% within Year of publication	.0%	.4%	17.1%	6.0%		
both		Count	0	1	9	10		
		% within Year of publication	.0%	.4%	7.3%	2.7%		
none		Count	4	157	33	194		
		% within Year of publication	57.1%	67.1%	26.8%	53.3%		
Total		Count	7	234	123	364		
		% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
izv		Actor placement	main head	Count	123	196	292	611
		% within Year of publication		16.4%	32.5%	50.2%	31.6%	
		other head	Count	7	20	58	85	
			% within Year of publication	.9%	3.3%	10.0%	4.4%	
		both	Count	0	7	34	41	
	% within Year of publication		.0%	1.2%	5.8%	2.1%		
	none	Count	620	380	198	1198		
		% within Year of publication	82.7%	63.0%	34.0%	61.9%		
	Total		Count	750	603	582	1935	
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Table A5.7 Actor placement (affecter and affected) x Year of publication x Name of publication

News actors - affectors	named individual			Name of publication			Total
				aif	ogon	izv	
		one (specific no)	Count	81	48	103	232
			% within Name of publication	82.7%	78.7%	80.5%	80.8%
		2 or more (specific	Count	17	12	15	44
			% within Name of publication	17.3%	19.7%	11.7%	15.3%
		unspecified no	Count	0	1	9	10
			% within Name of publication	.0%	1.6%	7.0%	3.5%
		other	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Name of publication	.0%	.0%	.8%	.3%
	Total		Count	98	61	128	287
			% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
generic/unnamed	Number of news actors	one (specific no)	Count	30	11	35	76
			% within Name of publication	28.3%	37.9%	25.4%	27.8%
		2 or more (specific	Count	10	3	5	18
			% within Name of publication	9.4%	10.3%	3.6%	6.6%
		unspecified no	Count	66	15	98	179
			% within Name of publication	62.3%	51.7%	71.0%	65.6%
	Total		Count	106	29	138	273
			% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
organisation (s)	Number of news actors	one (specific no)	Count	20	2	84	106

Table A5.8: News actors - affectors x Name of publication x x Number of news actors

				% within Name of publication	71.4%	100.0%	73.0%	73.1%
		2 or more (specific		Count	2	0	16	10
				% within Name of publication	10.7%	.0%	13.9%	13.1%
		unspecified no		Count	5	0	15	20
				% within Name of publication	17.9%	.0%	13.0%	13.8%
	Total			Count	28	2	115	145
				% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
nation(s)/people	Number of news actors	one (specific no)		Count	0	1	4	5
				% within Name of publication	.0%	100.0%	25.0%	21.7%
		unspecified no		Count	5	0	12	17
				% within Name of publication	83.3%	.0%	75.0%	73.9%
		other		Count	1	0	0	1
				% within Name of publication	16.7%	.0%	.0%	4.3%
	Total			Count	6	1	16	23
				% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
country/state	Number of news actors	one (specific no)		Count	6	4	31	41
				% within Name of publication	60.0%	66.7%	66.0%	65.1%
		2 or more (specific		Count	1	1	14	16
				% within Name of publication	10.0%	16.7%	29.8%	25.4%
		unspecified no		Count	3	1	2	6
				% within Name of publication	30.0%	16.7%	4.3%	9.5%
	Total			Count	10	6	47	63

Table A5.8: News actors - affectors x Name of publication x x Number of news actors

		% within Name of publication		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	
other	Number of news actors	one (specific no)	Count	18	25	71	114				
			% within Name of publication	69.2%	83.3%	75.5%	76.0%				
		2 or more (specific	Count	0	2	10	22				
			% within Name of publication	.0%	10.0%	20.2%	14.7%				
		unspecified no	Count	8	2	4	14				
			% within Name of publication	30.8%	6.7%	4.3%	9.3%				
	Total		Count	26	30	94	150				
			% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%				
none	Number of news actors	one (specific no)	Count	87	30	102	219				
			% within Name of publication	12.3%	12.8%	7.3%	9.4%				
		2 or more (specific	Count	1	0	22	23				
			% within Name of publication	.1%	.0%	1.6%	1.0%				
		unspecified no	Count	60	10	78	148				
			% within Name of publication	8.5%	4.3%	5.6%	6.3%				
		other	Count	0	1	0	1				
			% within Name of publication	.0%	.4%	.0%	.0%				
		none	Count	558	194	1195	1947				
			% within Name of publication	79.0%	82.6%	85.5%	83.3%				
	Total		Count	706	235	1397	2338				
			% within Name of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%				

Table A5.8: News actors - affectors x Name of publication x x Number of news actors

Nationality of news actors			Year of publication			Total
			1979	1989	1999	
	Russian	Count	1	4	119	124
		% within Year of publication	.1%	.4%	9.1%	3.8%
	Soviet	Count	51	59	9	119
		% within Year of publication	5.7%	5.5%	.7%	3.6%
	other	Count	46	73	113	232
		% within Year of publication	5.2%	6.8%	8.6%	7.1%
	not given	Count	73	136	231	440
		% within Year of publication	8.2%	12.7%	17.6%	13.4%
	R/S+other	Count	12	19	38	69
		% within Year of publication	1.3%	1.8%	2.9%	2.1%
	assumed Russian	Count	1	59	282	342
		% within Year of publication	.1%	5.5%	21.5%	10.4%
	CSSR	Count	0	1	0	1
		% within Year of publication	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%
	CSSR+other	Count	0	1	0	1
		% within Year of publication	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%
	assumed CR/CSSR	Count	0	0	4	4
		% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	.3%	.1%
	none	Count	709	720	517	1946
		% within Year of publication	79.4%	67.2%	39.4%	59.4%
Total		Count	893	1072	1313	3278
		% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table A5.9: Nationality x year of publication

Lexical fields - topics		Year of publication			Total
		1979	1989	1999	
political rhetoric	Count	156	35	1	192
	% within Lexical fields - topics	81.3%	18.2%	.5%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	17.5%	3.3%	.1%	5.9%
politics domestic	Count	46	137	166	349
	% within Lexical fields - topics	13.2%	39.3%	47.6%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	5.2%	12.8%	12.6%	10.6%
politics international	Count	93	188	76	357
	% within Lexical fields - topics	26.1%	52.7%	21.3%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	10.4%	17.5%	5.8%	10.9%
elections	Count	15	31	24	70
	% within Lexical fields - topics	21.4%	44.3%	34.3%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	1.7%	2.9%	1.8%	2.1%
economy, finance	Count	87	94	153	334
	% within Lexical fields - topics	26.0%	28.1%	45.8%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	9.7%	8.8%	11.7%	10.2%
law, judiciary	Count	2	18	38	58
	% within Lexical fields - topics	3.4%	31.0%	65.5%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.2%	1.7%	2.9%	1.8%
crime, prison, police	Count	1	5	40	46
	% within Lexical fields - topics	2.2%	10.9%	87.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.1%	.5%	3.0%	1.4%
military	Count	6	29	52	87
	% within Lexical fields - topics	6.9%	33.3%	59.8%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.7%	2.7%	4.0%	2.7%
terrorism non-Caucasian	Count	0	1	10	11
	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	9.1%	90.9%	100.0%

Table A5.10 Lexical fields –subject matter x Year of publication

	% within Year of publication	.0%	.1%	.8%	.3%
R secret service	Count	0	0	6	6
	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	.5%	.2%
non-R secret service	Count	2	0	2	4
	% within Lexical fields - topics	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.0%	.2%	.1%
borders and customs	Count	0	1	2	3
	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.1%	.2%	.1%
war in the Balkans	Count	0	0	19	19
	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	1.4%	.6%
Caucasus everything	Count	0	0	37	37
	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	2.8%	1.1%
sport	Count	5	5	20	30
	% within Lexical fields - topics	16.7%	16.7%	66.7%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.6%	.5%	1.5%	.9%
high arts lit., theatre, music, paint, sculpt	Count	3	53	25	81
	% within Lexical fields - topics	3.7%	65.4%	30.9%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.3%	4.9%	1.9%	2.5%
popular arts TV, film, music, photography	Count	3	11	22	36
	% within Lexical fields - topics	8.3%	30.6%	61.1%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.3%	1.0%	1.7%	1.1%
	Count	5	16	4	25

Table A5.10 Lexical fields –subject matter x Year of publication

education	% within Lexical fields - topics	20.0%	64.0%	16.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.6%	1.5%	.3%	.8%
church, God, religion	Count	0	2	17	19
	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	10.5%	89.5%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.2%	1.3%	.6%
nationalism, ethnicity	Count	2	2	3	7
	% within Lexical fields - topics	28.6%	28.6%	42.9%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.2%	.2%	.2%	.2%
science and technology	Count	12	6	8	26
	% within Lexical fields - topics	46.2%	23.1%	30.8%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	1.3%	.6%	.6%	.8%
feelings, human angle	Count	4	46	100	150
	% within Lexical fields - topics	2.7%	30.7%	66.7%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.4%	4.3%	7.6%	4.6%
space, universe	Count	31	7	10	48
	% within Lexical fields - topics	64.6%	14.6%	20.8%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	3.5%	.7%	.8%	1.5%
future	Count	1	6	9	16
	% within Lexical fields - topics	6.3%	37.5%	56.3%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.1%	.6%	.7%	.5%
health	Count	4	6	54	64
	% within Lexical fields - topics	6.3%	9.4%	84.4%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.4%	.6%	4.1%	2.0%
environment, climate, weather	Count	13	13	15	41
	% within Lexical fields - topics	31.7%	31.7%	36.6%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	1.5%	1.2%	1.1%	1.3%
	Count	0	7	12	19

Table A5.10 Lexical fields –subject matter x Year of publication

disasters	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.7%	.9%	.6%
leisure, travel, hols. fashion	Count	1	9	23	33
	% within Lexical fields - topics	3.0%	27.3%	69.7%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.1%	.8%	1.8%	1.0%
TU	Count	1	1	0	2
	% within Lexical fields - topics	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.1%	.1%	.0%	.1%
mass media, censorship	Count	5	20	48	73
	% within Lexical fields - topics	6.8%	27.4%	65.8%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.6%	1.9%	3.7%	2.2%
young people, children	Count	6	2	7	15
	% within Lexical fields - topics	40.0%	13.3%	46.7%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.7%	.2%	.5%	.5%
old people, pensions	Count	0	6	9	15
	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.6%	.7%	.5%
property, accommodation	Count	8	7	8	23
	% within Lexical fields - topics	34.8%	30.4%	34.8%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.9%	.7%	.6%	.7%
transport	Count	24	8	8	40
	% within Lexical fields - topics	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	2.7%	.7%	.6%	1.2%
history	Count	2	18	9	29
	% within Lexical fields - topics	6.9%	62.1%	31.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.2%	1.7%	.7%	.9%
	Count	0	4	22	26

Table A5.10 Lexical fields –subject matter x Year of publication

bizzare stories	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	15.4%	84.6%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.4%	1.7%	.8%
ambiguous, unclear	Count	102	208	163	473
	% within Lexical fields - topics	21.6%	44.0%	34.5%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	11.4%	19.4%	12.4%	14.4%
other	Count	37	34	81	152
	% within Lexical fields - topics	24.3%	22.4%	53.3%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	4.1%	3.2%	6.2%	4.6%
agriculture	Count	104	21	3	128
	% within Lexical fields - topics	81.3%	16.4%	2.3%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	11.6%	2.0%	.2%	3.9%
industry	Count	112	16	5	133
	% within Lexical fields - topics	84.2%	12.0%	3.8%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	12.5%	1.5%	.4%	4.1%
prostitution/ ornography	Count	0	0	2	2
	% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	.2%	.1%
Total	Count	893	1073	1313	3279
	% within Lexical fields - topics	27.2%	32.7%	40.0%	100.0%
	% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table A5.10 Lexical fields –subject matter x Year of publication

Lexical fields - topics				Year of publication			Total
				1979	1989	1999	
military	Evaluation reference to	expl Russian	Count	0	0	4	4
			% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	7.7%	4.6%
		expl Western	Count	3	0	0	3
			% within Evaluation reference to	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	50.0%	.0%	.0%	3.4%
		other	Count	0	1	1	2
			% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	3.4%	1.9%	2.3%
		not given	Count	1	4	5	10
			% within Evaluation reference to	10.0%	40.0%	50.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	16.7%	13.8%	9.6%	11.5%
		mixed	Count	2	0	0	2
			% within Evaluation reference to	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	33.3%	.0%	.0%	2.3%
		impl Russian	Count	0	0	6	6
			% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	11.5%	6.9%
		none	Count	0	24	36	60
			% within Evaluation reference to	.0%	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	82.8%	69.2%	69.0%
	Total		Count	6	29	52	87

Table A5.11 Evaluation reference to x Year of publication x Lexical fields - topics

Name of publication				Year of publication			Total
				1979	1989	1999	
aif	Lexical fields - topics	political rhetoric	Count	75	14	1	90
			% within Lexical fields - topics	83.3 %	15.6 %	1.1%	100.0 %
		politics domestic	Count	0	26	71	97
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	26.8 %	73.2 %	100.0 %
		politics international	Count	4	2	16	22
			% within Lexical fields - topics	18.2 %	9.1%	72.7 %	100.0 %
		elections	Count	0	7	4	11
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	63.6 %	36.4 %	100.0 %
		economy , finance	Count	18	34	74	126
			% within Lexical fields - topics	14.3 %	27.0 %	58.7 %	100.0 %
		law, judiciary	Count	1	4	3	8
			% within Lexical fields - topics	12.5 %	50.0 %	37.5 %	100.0 %
		crime, prison, police	Count	1	1	22	24
			% within Lexical fields - topics	4.2%	4.2%	91.7 %	100.0 %
		military	Count	6	5	14	25
			% within Lexical fields - topics	24.0 %	20.0 %	56.0 %	100.0 %
		terrorism non-Caucasian	Count	0	0	1	1

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		non-R secret service	Count	2	0	0	2
			% within Lexical fields - topics	100.0 %	.0%	.0%	100.0 %
		war in the Balkans	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		Caucasus everythin g	Count	0	0	7	7
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		sport	Count	4	0	11	15
			% within Lexical fields - topics	26.7 %	.0%	73.3 %	100.0 %
		high arts	Count	0	1	12	13
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	7.7%	92.3 %	100.0 %
		popular arts	Count	0	0	17	17
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		educatio n	Count	0	3	3	6
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	50.0 %	50.0 %	100.0 %
		church, religion	Count	0	0	5	5
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		nationali smethnic ity	Count	2	0	0	2
			% within	100.0	.0%	.0%	100.0

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

			Lexical fields - topics	%			%
		science and technology	Count	0	1	1	2
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	50.0 %	50.0 %	100.0 %
		feelings, human angle	Count	0	9	53	62
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	14.5 %	85.5 %	100.0 %
		space, universe	Count	0	1	2	3
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	33.3 %	66.7 %	100.0 %
		future	Count	0	0	7	7
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		health	Count	2	1	39	42
			% within Lexical fields - topics	4.8%	2.4%	92.9 %	100.0 %
		environm ent, clime, weather	Count	0	2	11	13
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	15.4 %	84.6 %	100.0 %
		disasters	Count	0	0	5	5
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		leisure, travel, hols. fashion	Count	0	0	16	16
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		TU	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within	100.0	.0%	.0%	100.0

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

			Lexical fields - topics	%			%
		mass media, censorship	Count	1	9	30	40
			% within Lexical fields - topics	2.5%	22.5%	75.0%	100.0%
		young people, children	Count	3	1	5	9
			% within Lexical fields - topics	33.3%	11.1%	55.6%	100.0%
		old people, pensions	Count	0	4	5	9
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
		property, accommodation	Count	0	7	4	11
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	63.6%	36.4%	100.0%
		history	Count	1	3	3	7
			% within Lexical fields - topics	14.3%	42.9%	42.9%	100.0%
		bizzare stories	Count	0	0	11	11
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		ambiguous, unclear	Count	13	88	110	211
			% within Lexical fields - topics	6.2%	41.7%	52.1%	100.0%
		other	Count	2	6	43	51
			% within Lexical fields - topics	3.9%	11.8%	84.3%	100.0%
		agriculture	Count	0	6	0	6

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		industry	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		prostituti on/porno graphy	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
	Total		Count	136	236	608	980
			% within Lexical fields - topics	13.9 %	24.1 %	62.0 %	100.0 %
ogo n	Lexical fields - topics	political rhetoric	Count	0	3	0	3
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		politics domestic	Count	0	10	11	21
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	47.6 %	52.4 %	100.0 %
		politics internatio nal	Count	0	5	1	6
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	83.3 %	16.7 %	100.0 %
		elections	Count	0	1	1	2
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	50.0 %	50.0 %	100.0 %
		economy , finance	Count	0	14	4	18
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	77.8 %	22.2 %	100.0 %
		law, judiciary	Count	0	3	0	3
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

		crime, prison, police	Count	0	2	9	11
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	18.2 %	81.8 %	100.0 %
		military	Count	0	5	2	7
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	71.4 %	28.6 %	100.0 %
		sport	Count	0	5	0	5
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		high arts	Count	0	48	7	55
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	87.3 %	12.7 %	100.0 %
		popular arts	Count	0	8	5	13
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	61.5 %	38.5 %	100.0 %
		educatio n	Count	0	4	0	4
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		church, religion	Count	0	2	6	8
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	25.0 %	75.0 %	100.0 %
		nationali sm ethnicity	Count	0	2	0	2
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		science and technolo gy	Count	0	0	4	4
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		feelings, human	Count	0	22	29	51

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

		angle					
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	43.1 %	56.9 %	100.0 %
		space, universe	Count	0	1	1	2
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	50.0 %	50.0 %	100.0 %
		future	Count	0	3	2	5
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	60.0 %	40.0 %	100.0 %
		health	Count	0	2	2	4
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	50.0 %	50.0 %	100.0 %
		environm ent, clime, weather	Count	0	5	1	6
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	83.3 %	16.7 %	100.0 %
		leisure, travel, hols. fashion	Count	0	5	4	9
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	55.6 %	44.4 %	100.0 %
		mass media, censorshi p	Count	0	7	2	9
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	77.8 %	22.2 %	100.0 %
		old people, pensions	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		property, accomm odation	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Lexical fields -	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

			topics				
		history	Count	0	10	1	11
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	90.9 %	9.1%	100.0 %
		bizzare stories	Count	0	2	5	7
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	28.6 %	71.4 %	100.0 %
		ambiguo us, unclear	Count	2	54	17	73
			% within Lexical fields - topics	2.7%	74.0 %	23.3 %	100.0 %
		other	Count	5	9	8	22
			% within Lexical fields - topics	22.7 %	40.9 %	36.4 %	100.0 %
		agricultu re	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
	Total		Count	7	234	123	364
			% within Lexical fields - topics	1.9%	64.3 %	33.8 %	100.0 %
izv	Lexical fields - topics	political rhetoric	Count	81	18	0	99
			% within Lexical fields - topics	81.8 %	18.2 %	.0%	100.0 %
		politics domestic	Count	46	101	84	231
			% within Lexical fields - topics	19.9 %	43.7 %	36.4 %	100.0 %
		politics internatio nal	Count	89	181	59	329
			% within Lexical fields - topics	27.1 %	55.0 %	17.9 %	100.0 %
		elections	Count	15	23	19	57
			% within	26.3	40.4	33.3	100.0

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

			Lexical fields - topics	%	%	%	%
		economy, finance	Count	69	46	75	190
			% within Lexical fields - topics	36.3 %	24.2 %	39.5 %	100.0 %
		law, judiciary	Count	1	11	35	47
			% within Lexical fields - topics	2.1%	23.4 %	74.5 %	100.0 %
		crime, prison, police	Count	0	2	9	11
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	18.2 %	81.8 %	100.0 %
		military	Count	0	19	36	55
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	34.5 %	65.5 %	100.0 %
		terrorism non-Caucasian	Count	0	1	9	10
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	10.0 %	90.0 %	100.0 %
		R secret service	Count	0	0	6	6
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		non-R secret service	Count	0	0	2	2
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		borders and customs	Count	0	1	2	3
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	33.3 %	66.7 %	100.0 %
		war in the Balkans	Count	0	0	18	18

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		Caucasus everything	Count	0	0	30	30
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		sport	Count	1	0	9	10
			% within Lexical fields - topics	10.0 %	.0%	90.0 %	100.0 %
		high arts	Count	3	4	6	13
			% within Lexical fields - topics	23.1 %	30.8 %	46.2 %	100.0 %
		popular arts	Count	3	3	0	6
			% within Lexical fields - topics	50.0 %	50.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		educatio n	Count	5	9	1	15
			% within Lexical fields - topics	33.3 %	60.0 %	6.7%	100.0 %
		church, religion	Count	0	0	6	6
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		nationali sm ethnicity	Count	0	0	3	3
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
		science and technolo gy	Count	12	5	3	20
			% within Lexical fields - topics	60.0 %	25.0 %	15.0 %	100.0 %
		feelings, human angle	Count	4	15	18	37

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

			% within Lexical fields - topics	10.8 %	40.5 %	48.6 %	100.0 %
		space, universe	Count	31	5	7	43
			% within Lexical fields - topics	72.1 %	11.6 %	16.3 %	100.0 %
		future	Count	1	3	0	4
			% within Lexical fields - topics	25.0 %	75.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		health	Count	2	3	13	18
			% within Lexical fields - topics	11.1 %	16.7 %	72.2 %	100.0 %
		environm ent, clime, weather	Count	13	6	3	22
			% within Lexical fields - topics	59.1 %	27.3 %	13.6 %	100.0 %
		disasters	Count	0	7	7	14
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	50.0 %	50.0 %	100.0 %
		leisure, travel, hols. fashion	Count	1	4	3	8
			% within Lexical fields - topics	12.5 %	50.0 %	37.5 %	100.0 %
		TU	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	100.0 %	.0%	100.0 %
		mass media, censorshi p	Count	4	4	16	24
			% within Lexical fields - topics	16.7 %	16.7 %	66.7 %	100.0 %
		young people, children	Count	3	1	2	6

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

			% within Lexical fields - topics	50.0 %	16.7 %	33.3 %	100.0 %
		old people, pensions	Count	0	1	4	5
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	20.0 %	80.0 %	100.0 %
		property, accomm odation	Count	8	0	3	11
			% within Lexical fields - topics	72.7 %	.0%	27.3 %	100.0 %
		transport	Count	24	8	8	40
			% within Lexical fields - topics	60.0 %	20.0 %	20.0 %	100.0 %
		history	Count	1	5	5	11
			% within Lexical fields - topics	9.1%	45.5 %	45.5 %	100.0 %
		bizzare stories	Count	0	2	6	8
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	25.0 %	75.0 %	100.0 %
		ambiguo us, unclear	Count	87	66	36	189
			% within Lexical fields - topics	46.0 %	34.9 %	19.0 %	100.0 %
		other	Count	30	19	30	79
			% within Lexical fields - topics	38.0 %	24.1 %	38.0 %	100.0 %
		agricultu re	Count	104	14	3	121
			% within Lexical fields - topics	86.0 %	11.6 %	2.5%	100.0 %
		industry	Count	112	15	5	132
			% within Lexical fields - topics	84.8 %	11.4 %	3.8%	100.0 %
		prostituti	Count	0	0	1	1

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

		on/porno graphy					
			% within Lexical fields - topics	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %
	Total		Count	750	603	582	1935
			% within Lexical fields - topics	38.8 %	31.2 %	30.1 %	100.0 %

Table A5.12: Lexical fields – topics x Year of publication x Name of publication

Mutually exclusive strategies				Language form				Total
topic clear/obvious	Year of publication	1979	Count	statement	question	directive	exclamation	Total
			% within Year of publication	252				252
				100.0%				100.0%
		1989	Count	334				334
			% within Year of publication	100.0%				100.0%
		1999	Count	64				64
			% within Year of publication	100.0%				100.0%
	Total		Count	650				650
			% within Year of publication	100.0%				100.0%
topic obscure	Year of publication	1979	Count	28		1		29
			% within Year of publication	96.6%		3.4%		100.0%
		1989	Count	39		0		39
			% within Year of publication	100.0%		.0%		100.0%
		1999	Count	1		0		1
			% within Year of publication	100.0%		.0%		100.0%
	Total		Count	68		1		69
			% within Year of publication	98.6%		1.4%		100.0%
summary clear/obvious	Year of publication	1979	Count	76		0		76
			% within Year of publication	100.0%		.0%		100.0%
		1989	Count	111		0		111
			% within Year of publication	100.0%		.0%		100.0%
		1999	Count	288		1		289
			% within Year of publication	99.7%		.3%		100.0%
	Total		Count	475		1		476
			% within Year of publication	99.8%		.2%		100.0%
summary obscure	Year of publication	1979	Count	10		1		11

Table A6.1: Year of publication x Language form x Mutually exclusive strategies

		1989	% within Year of publication	Count	90.9%		9.1%		100.0%
			Count	13			0		13
			% within Year of publication		100.0%		.0%		100.0%
		1999	Count	9			0		9
			% within Year of publication		100.0%		.0%		100.0%
	Total		Count	32			1		33
			% within Year of publication		97.0%		3.0%		100.0%
erotetic pronoun	Year of publication	1979	Count			1			1
			% within Year of publication			100.0%			100.0%
		1989	Count			4			4
			% within Year of publication			100.0%			100.0%
		1999	Count			1			1
			% within Year of publication			100.0%			100.0%
	Total		Count			6			6
			% within Year of publication			100.0%			100.0%
erotetic intonation only	Year of publication	1979	Count		0	1			1
			% within Year of publication		.0%	100.0%			100.0%
		1989	Count		2	6			8
			% within Year of publication		25.0%	75.0%			100.0%
		1999	Count		0	1			1
			% within Year of publication		.0%	100.0%			100.0%
	Total		Count		2	8			10
			% within Year of publication		20.0%	80.0%			100.0%
erotetic other	Year of publication	1979	Count		2	0			2
			% within Year of publication		100.0%	.0%			100.0%
		1989	Count		28	1			29
			% within Year of publication		96.6%	3.4%			100.0%
		1999	Count		1	0			1
			% within Year of publication		100.0%	.0%			100.0%

Table A6.1: Year of publication x Language form x Mutually exclusive strategies

		Total	Count		31	1			32
exclamation	Year of publication	1979	Count	% within Year of publication	96.9%	3.1%			100.0%
			Count				1	5	6
			% within Year of publication				16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
		1989	Count				1	2	3
			% within Year of publication				33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		1999	Count				1	0	1
			% within Year of publication				100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count				3	7	10
			% within Year of publication				30.0%	70.0%	100.0%
other	Year of publication	1979	Count		18		0		18
			% within Year of publication		100.0%		.0%		100.0%
		1989	Count		29		1		30
			% within Year of publication		96.7%		3.3%		100.0%
	Total		Count		47		1		48
			% within Year of publication		97.9%		2.1%		100.0%
other adverbial	Year of publication	1979	Count		30				30
			% within Year of publication		100.0%				100.0%
		1989	Count		10				10
			% within Year of publication		100.0%				100.0%
	Total		Count		40				40
			% within Year of publication		100.0%				100.0%

Table A6.1: Year of publication x Language form x Mutually exclusive strategies

1989	Evaluation reference to	expl Soviet	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
			% within (E in H)	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.8%	.5%
		expl Western	Count	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	9
			% within (E in H)	.0%	6.7%	9.1%	8.3%	9.5%	9.5%	9.5%	2.9%	1.5%
		expl socialist	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
			% within (E in H)	.0%	3.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.8%	.7%
		other	Count	0	1	4	9	3	3	3	2	19
			% within (E in H)	.0%	3.3%	18.2%	37.5%	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	5.9%	3.3%
		not given	Count	0	11	13	11	14	14	14	15	64
			% within (E in H)	.0%	36.7%	59.1%	45.8%	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%	44.1%	11.0%
		CSSR	Count	0	11	2	1	2	2	2	8	24
			% within (E in H)	.0%	36.7%	9.1%	4.2%	9.5%	9.5%	9.5%	23.5%	4.1%
		impl CR/CSSR	Count	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	2	8
			% within (E in H)	.0%	13.3%	4.5%	4.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.9%	1.4%
		none	Count	450	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	450
			% within (E in H)	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	77.5%
	Total		Count	450	30	22	24	21	21	21	34	581
			% within (E in H)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

1999	Evaluation reference to	expl Russian	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
			% within (E in H)	.0%	.0%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.3%
		expl Western	Count	0	0	5	1	0	0	6
			% within (E in H)	.0%	.0%	20.0%	2.3%	.0%	.0%	1.6%
		expl Chinese	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
			% within (E in H)	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.3%	.0%	.0%	.3%
		other	Count	0	1	3	4	0	0	8
			% within (E in H)	.0%	9.1%	12.0%	9.3%	.0%	.0%	2.2%
		not given	Count	0	2	9	3	2	2	18
			% within (E in H)	.0%	18.2%	36.0%	7.0%	40.0%	66.7%	4.9%
		impl western	Count	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
			% within (E in H)	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.7%	.0%	.0%	.5%
		Czech	Count	0	8	6	31	2	1	48
			% within (E in H)	.0%	72.7%	24.0%	72.1%	40.0%	33.3%	13.1%
		impl CR/CSSR	Count	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
			% within (E in H)	.0%	.0%	4.0%	2.3%	20.0%	.0%	.8%
		none	Count	280	0	0	0	0	0	280
			% within (E in H)	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	76.3%
	Total		Count	280	11	25	43	5	3	367
			% within (E in H)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Year of publication x News actors - affectors

Year of publication		News actors - affectors							Total
		name d indivi dual	gener ic/un name d	organ isatio n(s)	natio n(s)/p eople s	country /state	other	none	
1979	Count	18	59	11	1	10	14	313	426
	% within Year of publicati on	4.2%	13.8 %	2.6%	.2%	2.3%	3.3%	73.5 %	100.0 %
1989	Count	52	41	31	0	23	25	409	581
	% within Year of publicati on	9.0%	7.1%	5.3%	.0%	4.0%	4.3%	70.4 %	100.0 %
1999	Count	119	57	48	9	5	1	128	367
	% within Year of publicati on	32.4 %	15.5 %	13.1 %	2.5%	1.4%	.3%	34.9 %	100.0 %
Total	Count	189	157	90	10	38	40	850	1374
	% within Year of publicati on	13.8 %	11.4 %	6.6%	.7%	2.8%	2.9%	61.9 %	100.0 %

Year of publication x News actors - affecteds

Year of publication		News actors - affecteds							Total
		name d indivi dual	generi c /unna med	organ isatio n(s)	nation (s), peopl es	country, state	other	none	
1979	Count	17	38	0	2	9	23	337	426
	% within Year of publication	4.0%	8.9%	.0%	.5%	2.1%	5.4%	79.1 %	100.0 %
1989	Count	24	34	4	2	8	8	501	581
	% within Year of publication	4.1%	5.9%	.7%	.3%	1.4%	1.4%	86.2 %	100.0 %
1999	Count	32	53	17	3	5	4	253	367
	% within Year of publication	8.7%	14.4%	4.6%	.8%	1.4%	1.1%	68.9 %	100.0 %
Total	Count	73	125	21	7	22	35	1091	1374
	% within Year of publication	5.3%	9.1%	1.5%	.5%	1.6%	2.5%	79.4 %	100.0 %

Table A6.3: Year of publication x news actors (affectors and affecteds) Czech corpus

Gender of news actors				Year of publication			Total
				1979	1989	1999	
female adult	Job of news actors	not given/unknown	Count	2	1	6	9
			% within Job of news actors	22.2%	11.1%	66.7%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	50.0%	31.6%	39.1%
		politics /govt domestic	Count	0	0	3	3
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	15.8%	13.0%
		workers	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	5.3%	4.3%
		artist/performin/ visual	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	5.3%	4.3%
		religious	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	5.3%	4.3%
		military, police, secret police	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	5.3%	4.3%
		other	Count	0	1	3	4
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	50.0%	15.8%	17.4%
	politics foreign	Count	0	0	3	3	
		% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	15.8%	13.0%	
Total		Count	2	2	19	23	
		% within Job of news actors	8.7%	8.7%	82.6%	100.0%	
		% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
male adult	Job of news actors	not given/unknown	Count	8	3	13	24
			% within Job of news actors	33.3%	12.5%	54.2%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	10.7%	3.0%	10.2%	7.9%
		politics /govt domestic	Count	21	27	51	99
			% within Job of news actors	21.2%	27.3%	51.5%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	28.0%	26.7%	39.8%	32.6%
		sciences (natural)	Count	1	2	4	7
			% within Job of news actors	14.3%	28.6%	57.1%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	1.3%	2.0%	3.1%	2.3%
		sciences (humanities)	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	.8%	.3%
		workers	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	1.3%	.0%	.0%	.3%

Table A6.4: **Job of news actors x Year of publication x Gender of news actors**

		crime/terrorism	Count	0	0	5	5
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	3.9%	1.6%
		law	Count	0	0	2	2
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	1.6%	.7%
		finance, industry, economy	Count	0	1	3	4
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	1.0%	2.3%	1.3%
		journalism / media	Count	0	0	2	2
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	1.6%	.7%
		artist/performin/ visual	Count	1	1	6	8
			% within Job of news actors	12.5%	12.5%	75.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	1.3%	1.0%	4.7%	2.6%
		writer, poet, composer	Count	0	2	0	2
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	2.0%	.0%	.7%
		sportperson	Count	0	3	5	8
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	37.5%	62.5%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	3.0%	3.9%	2.6%
		religious	Count	1	1	0	2
			% within Job of news actors	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	1.3%	1.0%	.0%	.7%
		military, police, secret police	Count	1	4	5	10
			% within Job of news actors	10.0%	40.0%	50.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	1.3%	4.0%	3.9%	3.3%
		other	Count	0	2	5	7
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	2.0%	3.9%	2.3%
		politics foreign	Count	40	55	25	120
			% within Job of news actors	33.3%	45.8%	20.8%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	53.3%	54.5%	19.5%	39.5%
		education	Count	1	0	1	2
			% within Job of news actors	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	1.3%	.0%	.8%	.7%
	Total		Count	75	101	128	304
			% within Job of news actors	24.7%	33.2%	42.1%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
male child	Job of news actors	none	Count			2	2
			% within Job of news actors			100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication			100.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count			2	2
			% within Job of news actors			100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication			100.0%	100.0%
F&M adults	Job of news actors	politics /govt domestic	Count	0	1	1	2

Table A6.4: Job of news actors x Year of publication x Gender of news actors

			% within Job of news actors	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	16.7%	50.0%	18.2%
		workers	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	33.3%	.0%	.0%	9.1%
		finance, industry, economy	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	33.3%	.0%	.0%	9.1%
		journalism / media	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	16.7%	.0%	9.1%
		varied	Count	1	4	0	5
			% within Job of news actors	20.0%	80.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	33.3%	66.7%	.0%	45.5%
		politics foreign	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	50.0%	9.1%
	Total		Count	3	6	2	11
			% within Job of news actors	27.3%	54.5%	18.2%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
F&M children	Job of news actors	not given/unknown	Count	1	0		1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%		100.0%
			% within Year of publication	50.0%	.0%		33.3%
		none	Count	1	1		2
			% within Job of news actors	50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
			% within Year of publication	50.0%	100.0%		66.7%
	Total		Count	2	1		3
			% within Job of news actors	66.7%	33.3%		100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%
unclear adults	Job of news actors	not given/unknown	Count	11	7	16	34
			% within Job of news actors	32.4%	20.6%	47.1%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	21.6%	17.1%	30.8%	23.6%
		politics /govt domestic	Count	1	9	6	16
			% within Job of news actors	6.3%	56.3%	37.5%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	2.0%	22.0%	11.5%	11.1%
		sciences (natural)	Count	2	1	2	5
			% within Job of news actors	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	3.9%	2.4%	3.8%	3.5%
		sciences (humanities)	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	2.4%	.0%	.7%
		workers	Count	1	4	1	6
			% within Job of news actors	16.7%	66.7%	16.7%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	2.0%	9.8%	1.9%	4.2%
		unemployed	Count	0	0	1	1

Table A6.4: Job of news actors x Year of publication x Gender of news actors

			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	1.9%	.7%
		crime/terrorism	Count	0	1	6	7
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	14.3%	85.7%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	2.4%	11.5%	4.9%
		law	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	1.9%	.7%
		finance, industry, economy	Count	5	0	1	6
			% within Job of news actors	83.3%	.0%	16.7%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	9.8%	.0%	1.9%	4.2%
		journalism / media	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	2.4%	.0%	.7%
		military, police, secret police	Count	0	1	8	9
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	2.4%	15.4%	6.3%
		trade unionist/s	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	2.4%	.0%	.7%
		varied	Count	3	1	0	4
			% within Job of news actors	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	5.9%	2.4%	.0%	2.8%
		other	Count	2	2	2	6
			% within Job of news actors	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	3.9%	4.9%	3.8%	4.2%
		farmer/agricultu re	Count	4	0	0	4
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	7.8%	.0%	.0%	2.8%
		politics foreign	Count	21	11	8	40
			% within Job of news actors	52.5%	27.5%	20.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	41.2%	26.8%	15.4%	27.8%
		construction	Count	1	1	0	2
			% within Job of news actors	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	2.0%	2.4%	.0%	1.4%
	Total		Count	51	41	52	144
			% within Job of news actors	35.4%	28.5%	36.1%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
unclear children	Job of news actors	education	Count	1			1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%			100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%			100.0%
	Total		Count	1			1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%			100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%			100.0%
mixed all	Job of news actors	not given/unknown	Count	3	5	7	15
			% within Job of news actors	20.0%	33.3%	46.7%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	30.0%	41.7%	53.8%	42.9%
		law	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	7.7%	2.9%

Table A6.4: Job of news actors x Year of publication x Gender of news actors

		journalism / media	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	7.7%	2.9%
		varied	Count	6	2	1	9
			% within Job of news actors	66.7%	22.2%	11.1%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	60.0%	16.7%	7.7%	25.7%
		other	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	7.7%	2.9%
		farmer/agriculture	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	10.0%	.0%	.0%	2.9%
		politics foreign	Count	0	4	2	6
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	33.3%	15.4%	17.1%
		none	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	8.3%	.0%	2.9%
	Total		Count	10	12	13	35
			% within Job of news actors	28.6%	34.3%	37.1%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
unknown	Job of news actors	not given/unknown	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	100.0%	12.5%
		politics /govt domestic	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	25.0%	.0%	.0%	12.5%
		military, police, secret police	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	33.3%	.0%	12.5%
		politics foreign	Count	3	2	0	5
			% within Job of news actors	60.0%	40.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	75.0%	66.7%	.0%	62.5%
	Total		Count	4	3	1	8
			% within Job of news actors	50.0%	37.5%	12.5%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
none	Job of news actors	not given/unknown	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	.7%	.1%
		politics /govt domestic	Count	0	14	17	31
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	45.2%	54.8%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	3.4%	11.3%	3.7%
		sciences (natural)	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.4%	.0%	.0%	.1%
		workers	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.2%	.0%	.1%
		unemployed	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.4%	.0%	.0%	.1%

Table A6.4: Job of news actors x Year of publication x Gender of news actors

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		tourists, guests	Count	0	1	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.2%	.0%	.1%
		law	Count	0	0	1	1
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	.7%	.1%
		finance, industry, economy	Count	0	2	10	12
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.5%	6.7%	1.4%
		journalism / media	Count	1	0	1	2
			% within Job of news actors	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.4%	.0%	.7%	.2%
		sportperson	Count	0	0	3	3
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	2.0%	.4%
		military, police, secret police	Count	1	7	8	16
			% within Job of news actors	6.3%	43.8%	50.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.4%	1.7%	5.3%	1.9%
		trade unionist/s	Count	1	0	0	1
			% within Job of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.4%	.0%	.0%	.1%
		varied	Count	7	5	1	13
			% within Job of news actors	53.8%	38.5%	7.7%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	2.5%	1.2%	.7%	1.5%
		other	Count	0	0	2	2
			% within Job of news actors	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	1.3%	.2%
		politics foreign	Count	9	28	15	52
			% within Job of news actors	17.3%	53.8%	28.8%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	3.2%	6.7%	10.0%	6.2%
		none	Count	257	357	91	705
			% within Job of news actors	36.5%	50.6%	12.9%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	92.4%	86.0%	60.7%	83.6%
	Total		Count	278	415	150	843
			% within Job of news actors	33.0%	49.2%	17.8%	100.0%
			% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table A6.4: Job of news actors x Year of publication x Gender of news actors

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		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Russian	7	.5
	Soviet	22	1.6
	other	179	13.0
	not given	135	9.8
	R/S+other	10	.7
	assumed	3	.2
	Russian		
	Czech	83	6.0
	CSSR	116	8.4
	CSSR+other	36	2.6
	Czech+other	5	.4
	assumed		
	CR/CSSR	74	5.4
	none	704	51.2
	Total	1374	100.0

Table A6.5: Nationality of news actors

Year of publication				Evaluation in headline						Total
Gender of news actors				non-evaluative	evaluative-positive	evaluative-negative	other	imp neg ev	imp pos ev	
1979		female adult	Count	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
			% within Gender of news actors	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		male adult	Count	56	10	1	0	1	7	75
			% within Gender of news actors	74.7%	13.3%	1.3%	.0%	1.3%	9.3%	100.0%
		F&M adults	Count	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
			% within Gender of news actors	66.7%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		F&M children	Count	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
			% within Gender of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		unclear adults	Count	34	10	4	2	0	1	51
			% within Gender of news actors	66.7%	19.6%	7.8%	3.9%	.0%	2.0%	100.0%
		unclear children	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
			% within Gender of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		mixed all	Count	4	1	3	1	0	1	10
			% within Gender of news actors	40.0%	10.0%	30.0%	10.0%	.0%	10.0%	100.0%
		unknown	Count	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
			% within Gender of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		none	Count	179	29	17	10	12	31	278
			% within Gender of news actors	64.4%	10.4%	6.1%	3.6%	4.3%	11.2%	100.0%
		Total	Count	282	52	25	13	13	41	426
		Gender of news actors	% within Gender of news actors	66.2%	12.2%	5.9%	3.1%	3.1%	9.6%	100.0%
1989		female adult	Count	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
			% within Gender of news actors	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		male adult	Count	91	4	0	0	1	5	101
			% within Gender of news actors	90.1%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%	5.0%	100.0%
		F&M adults	Count	3	2	1	0	0	0	6
			% within Gender of news actors	50.0%	33.3%	16.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%

Table A6.6 Gender of news actors x Evaluation in headline x Year of publication

		F&M children	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
			% within Gender of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		unclear adults	Count	28	4	2	3	2	2	41
			% within Gender of news actors	68.3%	9.8%	4.9%	7.3%	4.9%	4.9%	100.0%
		mixed all	Count	6	1	3	1	0	1	12
			% within Gender of news actors	50.0%	8.3%	25.0%	8.3%	.0%	8.3%	100.0%
		unknown	Count	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
			% within Gender of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		none	Count	317	18	16	20	18	26	415
			% within Gender of news actors	76.4%	4.3%	3.9%	4.8%	4.3%	6.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	450	30	22	24	21	34	581
	Gender of news actors		% within Gender of news actors	77.5%	5.2%	3.8%	4.1%	3.6%	5.9%	100.0%
1999		female adult	Count	16	0	1	2	0	0	19
			% within Gender of news actors	84.2%	.0%	5.3%	10.5%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		male adult	Count	91	7	7	20	1	2	128
			% within Gender of news actors	71.1%	5.5%	5.5%	15.6%	.8%	1.6%	100.0%
		male child	Count	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
			% within Gender of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		F&M adults	Count	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
			% within Gender of news actors	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		unclear adults	Count	35	1	6	7	3	0	52
			% within Gender of news actors	67.3%	1.9%	11.5%	13.5%	5.8%	.0%	100.0%
		mixed all	Count	9	1	0	3	0	0	13
			% within Gender of news actors	69.2%	7.7%	.0%	23.1%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		unknown	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
			% within Gender of news actors	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		none	Count	125	1	11	11	1	1	150
			% within Gender of news actors	83.3%	.7%	7.3%	7.3%	.7%	.7%	100.0%
	Total		Count	280	11	25	43	5	3	367
			% within Gender of news actors	76.3%	3.0%	6.8%	11.7%	1.4%	.8%	100.0%

Table A6.6 Gender of news actors x Evaluation in headline x Year of publication

Lexical fields		Frequency	Percent
	political rhetoric	64	4.7
	politics domestic	175	12.7
	politics international	413	30.1
	elections	3	.2
	economy, finance	94	6.8
	law, judiciary	10	.7
	crime, prison, police	22	1.6
	military	36	2.6
	terrorism non-Caucasian	3	.2
	non-R secret service	3	.2
	borders and customs	1	.1
	war in the Balkans	23	1.7
	Caucasus everything	3	.2
	sport	26	1.9
	high arts lit., thetre, music, paint, sculpt	23	1.7
	popular arts TV, film, music , photography	17	1.2
	education	14	1.0
	church, God, religion	1	.1
	nationalism, ethnicity	5	.4
	science and technology	13	.9
	feelings, human angle	26	1.9
	space, universe	12	.9
	health	21	1.5
	environment, clime, weather	23	1.7
	disasters	19	1.4
	leisure, travel, hols. fashion	7	.5
	mass media, censorship	14	1.0
	young people, children	11	.8
	property, accommodation	3	.2
	transport	15	1.1
	history	24	1.7
	bizzare stories	20	1.5
	ambiguous, unclear	103	7.5
	other	53	3.9
	agriculture	51	3.7
	industry	23	1.7
	Total	1374	100.0

Table A6.7: Lexical fields – subject matter

Intertextuality		Year of publication			Total
		1979	1989	1999	
sayings/idioms	Count	0	2	2	4
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.3%	.5%	.3%
literature	Count	0	0	4	4
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	1.1%	.3%
other	Count	2	8	1	11
	% within Year of publication	.5%	1.4%	.3%	.8%
slogan	Count	0	1	0	1
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.2%	.0%	.1%
fairy tales	Count	0	0	1	1
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.0%	.3%	.1%
films	Count	0	1	0	1
	% within Year of publication	.0%	.2%	.0%	.1%
quotation	Count	2	7	41	50
	% within Year of publication	.5%	1.2%	11.2%	3.6%
none	Count	422	562	318	1302
	% within Year of publication	99.1%	96.7%	86.6%	94.8%
Total	Count	426	581	367	1374
	% within Year of publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

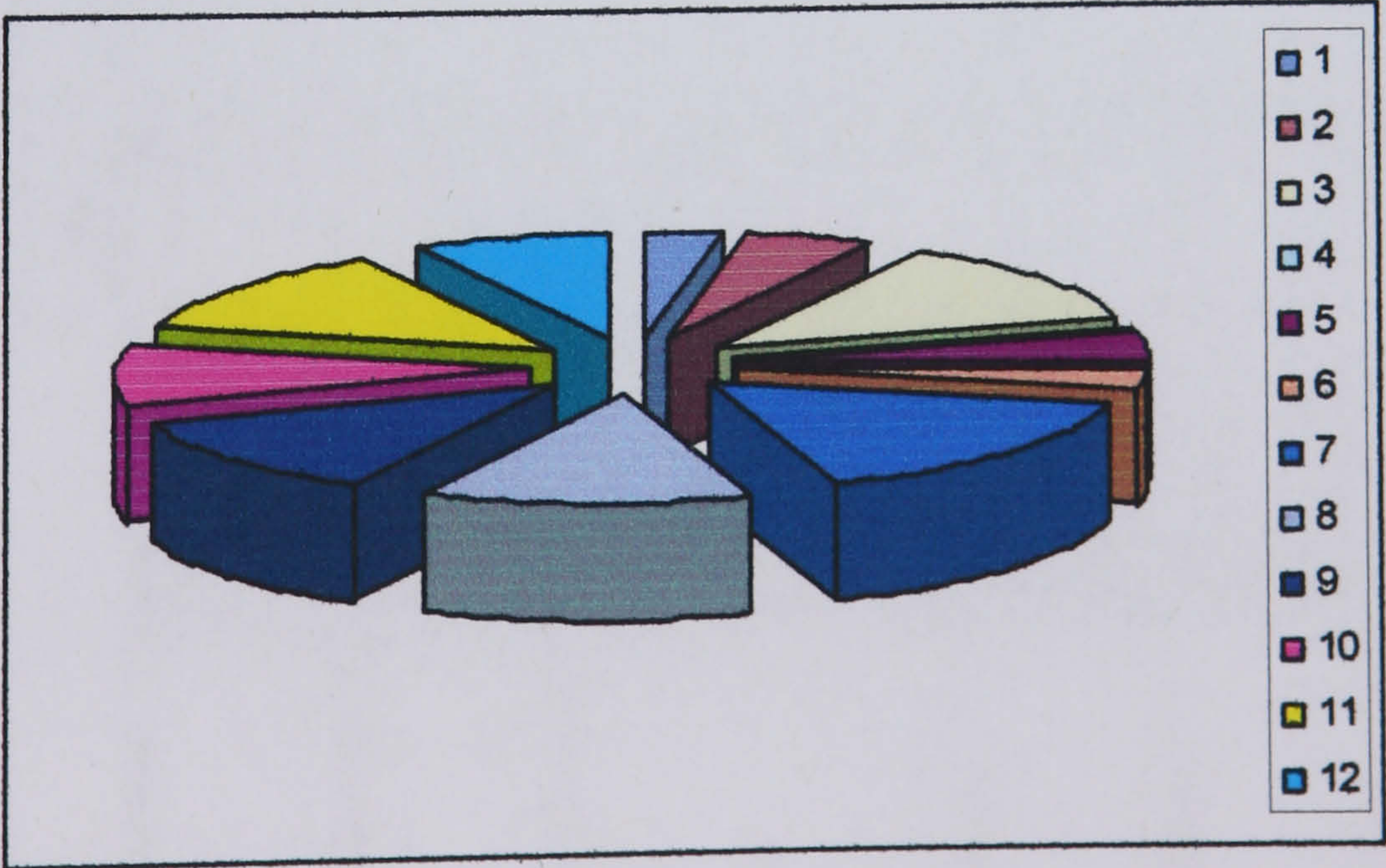
Table A6.8: Intertextuality x Year of publication (Czech corpus)

Number of decks			Year of publication			Total
			1979	1989	1999	
	one	Count	219	381	263	863
		% within Year of publicatio n	51.4%	65.6%	71.7%	62.8%
	subhead only	Count	35	82	61	178
		% within Year of publicatio n	8.2%	14.1%	16.6%	13.0%
	other	Count	172	118	43	333
		% within Year of publicatio n	40.4%	20.3%	11.7%	24.2%
Total		Count	426	581	367	1374
		% within Year of publicatio n	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table A6.9: Number of decks x Year of publication (Czech corpus)

Name of publication	No of heads collected	Heads per page of sample	No of front pages used in the study	No of issues published that year	Issues selected for study
1-AiF 1979	136	12.4	11	12	11
2 AiF 1989	236	4.5	52	52	52
3 AiF 1999	608	11.7	52	52	52
Total AiF	980				
4 -Ogon 1979	7	0.13	52	52	52
5 -Ogon 1989	234	4.5	52	52	52
6- Ogon 1999	123	3.1	40	40	40
Total Ogon	364				
7 -Izv1979	750	12.4	61	305	Every 5th
8- Ilzv 1989	603	8.2	73	365	Every 5th
9 I-zv1999	582	9.3	62	247	Every 4th
Total Izv	1935				
Total Russian	3279				
10- rp79	426	9.3	44	308	every 7th
11- rp89	581	13.2	44	307	every 7th
12- rp99	367	8.5	43	304	every 7th
Total rp	1374				
Total R & Cz headlines	4653				

Table A7.1 showing the number of headlines collected, with the average number of heads per page



			Mutually exclusive strategies													
Evaluation in headline			topic clear/obvious	topic obscure	summary clear/obvious	summary obscure	erotetic pronoun	erotetic -li-	erotetic intonation only	erotetic other	exclamation	wishing	other	other adverbial	Total	
			Count													
non-evaluative		% within Evaluation in headline	Count	1490	349	1025	87	75	19	34	120	35	109	42	3418	
				43.6%	10.2%	30.0%	2.5%	2.2%	.6%	1.0%	3.5%	1.0%	3.2%	1.2%	100.0%	
			% within Mutually exclusive strategies	77.0%	70.4%	71.9%	59.2%	73.5%	65.5%	61.8%	75.5%	51.5%	77.3%	70.0%	73.5%	
evaluative - positive		% within Evaluation in headline	Count	179	29	103	10	1	0	2	3	15	5	5	352	
				50.9%	8.2%	29.3%	2.8%	.3%	.0%	.6%	.9%	4.3%	1.4%	1.4%	100.0%	
			% within Mutually exclusive strategies	9.3%	5.8%	7.2%	6.8%	1.0%	.0%	3.6%	1.9%	22.1%	3.5%	8.3%	7.6%	
evaluative - negative		% within Evaluation in headline	Count	116	49	128	15	18	3	5	18	6	14	2	376	
				30.9%	13.0%	34.0%	4.0%	4.8%	.8%	1.3%	4.8%	1.6%	3.7%	.5%	100.0%	
			% within Mutually exclusive strategies	6.0%	9.9%	9.0%	10.2%	17.6%	10.3%	9.1%	11.3%	8.8%	9.9%	3.3%	8.1%	
other		% within Evaluation in headline	Count	48	33	83	21	2	2	7	4	6	7	3	217	
				22.1%	15.2%	38.2%	9.7%	.9%	.9%	3.2%	1.8%	2.8%	3.2%	1.4%	100.0%	
			% within Mutually exclusive strategies	2.5%	6.7%	5.8%	14.3%	2.0%	6.9%	12.7%	2.5%	8.8%	5.0%	5.0%	4.7%	
imp neg ev		% within Evaluation in headline	Count	32	16	39	6	5	5	4	10	1	3	2	123	
				26.0%	13.0%	31.7%	4.9%	4.1%	4.1%	3.3%	8.1%	.8%	2.4%	1.6%	100.0%	
			% within Mutually exclusive strategies	1.7%	3.2%	2.7%	4.1%	4.9%	17.2%	7.3%	6.3%	1.5%	2.1%	3.3%	2.6%	
imp pos ev		% within Evaluation in headline	Count	69	20	48	8	1	0	3	4	5	3	6	167	
				41.3%	12.0%	28.7%	4.8%	.6%	.0%	1.8%	2.4%	3.0%	1.8%	3.6%	100.0%	
			% within Mutually exclusive strategies	3.6%	4.0%	3.4%	5.4%	1.0%	.0%	5.5%	2.5%	7.4%	2.1%	10.0%	3.6%	
Total		% within Evaluation in headline	Count	1934	496	1426	147	102	29	55	159	68	141	60	4653	
				41.6%	10.7%	30.6%	3.2%	2.2%	.6%	1.2%	3.4%	1.5%	3.0%	1.3%	100.0%	
			% within Mutually exclusive strategies	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Table A7.2: Evaluation in headline x mutually exclusive strategies (R and C corpora combined)

Year of publication			Language form							Total
	Mutually exclusive strategies			statement	question	imperative	exclamation	wishes	other	
1979	topic clear/obvious	Count		729	0	0	0	0	0	729
		% within Mutually exclusive strategies		100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	topic obscure	Count		170	0	1	1	0	0	172
		% within Mutually exclusive strategies		98.8%	.0%	.6%	.6%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	summary clear/obvious	Count		239	0	0	1	0	0	240
		% within Mutually exclusive strategies		99.6%	.0%	.0%	.4%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	summary obscure	Count		34	0	1	0	0	0	35
		% within Mutually exclusive strategies		97.1%	.0%	2.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	erotetic pronoun	Count		0	2	0	0	0	0	2
		% within Mutually exclusive strategies		.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	erotetic intonation only	Count		0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		% within Mutually exclusive strategies		.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count		3	1	0	0	0	0	4

Table A7.3: Mutually exclusive strategies x Language form x Year of publication (the whole corpus)

	erotic other	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	24	0	1	8	0	33	
	exclamation	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	72.7%	.0%	3.0%	24.2%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	19	0	0	0	1	21	
	wishing	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	90.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.8%	100.0%	
		Count	3	0	0	0	0	3	
	quote headline	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		Count	46	0	1	0	0	47	
	other	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	97.9%	.0%	2.1%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		Count	32	0	0	0	0	32	
	other adverbial	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		Count	1299	4	4	10	1	1319	
	Total	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	98.5%	.3%	.3%	.8%	.1%	100.0%	
		Count	850	1	1	0	0	852	
1989	topic clear/obvious	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	99.8%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		Count	178	3	0	0	0	181	
	topic obscure	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	98.3%	1.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		Count	303	1	3	0	0	307	

Table A7.3: Mutually exclusive strategies x Language form x Year of publication (the whole corpus)

	summary clear/obvious	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	98.7%	3%	1.0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
		Count	39	1	0	0	0	0	40
	summary obscure	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	97.5%	2.5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
		Count	0	36	0	0	0	0	36
	erotetic pronoun	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	0%	100.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
		Count	0	11	0	0	0	0	11
	erotetic -li-	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	0%	100.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
		Count	2	22	1	0	0	0	25
	erotetic intonation only	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	8.0%	88.0%	4.0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
		Count	36	15	0	0	0	0	51
	erotetic other	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	70.6%	29.4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
		Count	4	0	6	7	0	0	17
	exclamation	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	23.5%	0%	35.3%	41.2%	0%	0%	100.0%
		Count	5	0	1	0	2	0	8
	wishing	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	62.5%	0%	12.5%	0%	25.0%	0%	100.0%
		Count	24	3	2	0	0	0	29
	quote headline	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	82.8%	10.3%	6.9%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
		Count	48	1	21	0	0	2	72

Table A7.3: Mutually exclusive strategies x Language form x Year of publication (the whole corpus)

	other	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	66.7%	1.4%	29.2%	.0%	.0%	2.8%	100.0%
		Count	25	0	0	0	0	0	25
	other adverbial	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count	1514	94	35	7	2	2	1654
		% within Mutually exclusive strategies	91.5%	5.7%	2.1%	.4%	.1%	.1%	100.0%
	Mutually exclusive strategies	% within Language form	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
1999		Count	339	0	0	1	0	0	340
	topic clear/obvious	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	99.7%	.0%	.0%	.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	139	0	1	0	0	1	141
	topic obscure	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	98.6%	.0%	.7%	.0%	.0%	.7%	100.0%
		Count	789	5	4	1	0	0	799
	summary clear/obvious	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	98.7%	.6%	.5%	.1%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	56	1	0	0	0	1	58
	summary obscure	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	96.6%	1.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.7%	100.0%
		Count	0	59	0	0	0	0	59
	erotetic pronoun	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Count	0	17	0	0	0	0	17

Table A7.3: Mutually exclusive strategies x Language form x Year of publication (the whole corpus)

erotic -li-	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	0%	100.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
erotic intonation only	Count	1	26	0	0	0	0	0	27
	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	3.7%	96.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
erotic other	Count	15	78	0	0	0	0	0	93
	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	16.1%	83.9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%
exclamation	Count	1	0	3	6	0	1	1	11
	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	9.1%	0%	27.3%	54.5%	0%	9.1%	100.0%	100.0%
wishing	Count	3	0	0	1	3	0	7	7
	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	42.9%	0%	0%	14.3%	42.9%	0%	100.0%	100.0%
quote headline	Count	88	5	6	1	0	0	100	100
	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	88.0%	5.0%	6.0%	1.0%	0%	0%	100.0%	100.0%
other	Count	5	1	18	0	0	3	27	27
	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	18.5%	3.7%	66.7%	0%	0%	11.1%	100.0%	100.0%
other adverbial	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	100.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	1437	192	32	10	3	6	1680	1680
	% within Mutually exclusive strategies	85.5%	11.4%	1.9%	6%	2%	4%	100.0%	100.0%

Table A7.3: Mutually exclusive strategies x Language form x Year of publication (the whole corpus)

Rhetorical figures		Frequency	Percent
	metaphor	257	5.5
	simile	7	.2
	exaggeration (hyperbole)	13	.3
	synecdoche	5	.1
	metonymy	44	.9
	irony	33	.7
	personification	48	1.0
	figurative use	75	1.6
	rhetorical question	3	.1
	exclamation	5	.1
	other	20	.4
	parallelism	8	.2
	none	4135	88.9
	Total	4653	100.0

Table A7.4: Rhetorical figures of speech x frequencies within the whole corpus (Russian and Czech)

Year of publication			Evaluation in headline							Total
			non-evaluative	evaluative - positive	evaluative -negative	other	imp neg ev	imp pos ev		
1979	Name of publication aif	Count	45	24	54	3	7	3	136	
		% within Name of publication	33.1%	17.6%	39.7%	2.2%	5.1%	2.2%	100.0%	
	ogon	Count	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	
		% within Name of publication	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
	izv	Count	621	101	2	2	0	24	750	
		% within Name of publication	82.8%	13.5%	.3%	.3%	.0%	3.2%	100.0%	
	rp	Count	282	52	25	13	13	41	426	
		% within Name of publication	66.2%	12.2%	5.9%	3.1%	3.1%	9.6%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	955	177	81	18	20	68	1319	
		% within Name of publication	72.4%	13.4%	6.1%	1.4%	1.5%	5.2%	100.0%	
1989	Name of publication aif	Count	147	22	44	19	1	3	236	
		% within Name of publication	62.3%	9.3%	18.6%	8.1%	.4%	1.3%	100.0%	
	ogon	Count	159	19	14	14	11	17	234	
		% within Name of publication	67.9%	8.1%	6.0%	6.0%	4.7%	7.3%	100.0%	
	izv	Count	534	33	13	10	7	6	603	
		% within Name of publication	88.6%	5.5%	2.2%	1.7%	1.2%	1.0%	100.0%	
	rp	Count	450	30	22	24	21	34	581	
		% within Name of publication	77.5%	5.2%	3.8%	4.1%	3.6%	5.9%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	1290	104	93	67	40	60	1654	
		% within Name of publication	78.0%	6.3%	5.6%	4.1%	2.4%	3.6%	100.0%	
1999	Name of publication aif	Count	362	35	117	55	24	15	608	
		% within Name of publication	59.5%	5.8%	19.2%	9.0%	3.9%	2.5%	100.0%	
	ogon	Count	74	9	15	20	4	1	123	
		% within Name of publication	60.2%	7.3%	12.2%	16.3%	3.3%	.8%	100.0%	
	izv	Count	457	16	45	14	30	20	582	
		% within Name of publication	78.5%	2.7%	7.7%	2.4%	5.2%	3.4%	100.0%	
	rp	Count	280	11	25	43	5	3	367	
		% within Name of publication	76.3%	3.0%	6.8%	11.7%	1.4%	.8%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	1173	71	202	132	63	39	1680	
		% within Name of publication	69.8%	4.2%	12.0%	7.9%	3.8%	2.3%	100.0%	

Table A7.5: Name of publication x Evaluation in headline x Year of publication

Year of publication		Name of publication			
1979		aif	ogon	izv	rp
female adult	Count	1	0	2	2
	% within Name of publication	.7%	.0%	.3%	.5%
male adult	Count	3	0	50	75
	% within Name of publication	2.2%	.0%	6.7%	17.6%
unclear adults	Count	12	0	46	51
	% within Name of publication	8.8%	.0%	6.1%	12.0%
1989					
female adult	Count	3	3	5	2
	% within Name of publication	1.3%	1.3%	.8%	.3%
male adult	Count	7	46	76	101
	% within Name of publication	3.0%	19.7%	12.6%	17.4%
unclear adults	Count	25	23	74	41
	% within Name of publication	10.6%	9.8%	12.3%	7.1%
1999					
female adult	Count	32	15	6	19
	% within Name of publication	5.3%	12.2%	1.0%	5.2%
male adult	Count	134	46	132	128
	% within Name of publication	22.0%	37.4%	22.7%	34.9%
unclear adults	Count	92	13	105	52
	% within Name of publication	15.1%	10.6%	18.0%	14.2%

Table A7.6:Gender x year x publication

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